Puruṣottama Paṇḍita

# THE EARLY BRAHMANICAL SYSTEM OF GOTRA AND PRAVARA

A TRANSLATION OF

THE GOTRA-PRAVARA-MAÑJARĪ OF PURUṢOTTAMA-PAṆḌITA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AB | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. |
| ĀpDhS | Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra. |
| ĀpGS | Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra. |
| ĀpŚS | Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra. |
| ĀGS | Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra. |
| ĀŚS | Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra. |
| AV | Atharva Veda. |
| BDhS | Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra. |
| *BSOS* | *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.* |
| BŚS | Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. |
| BŚSpr | Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, pravara chapter. |
| BhārŚS | Bharadvāja Śrauta Sūtra. |
| GautDhS | Gautama Dharma Sūtra. |
| HirGS | Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra. |
| *HOS* | *Harvard Oriental Series.* |
| JaimB | Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa. |
| *JRAS* | *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* |
| *ISt* | Weber's *Indische Studien.* |
| KB | Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa. |
| KS | Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā. |
| KŚS | Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra. |
| MS | Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā. |
| Pāṇ. | Pāṇini. |
| PB | Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. |
| RV | Ṛgveda. |
| ŚB | Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. |
| SBE | Sacred Books of the East. |
| ŚŚS | Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. |
| TB | Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. |
| TS | Taittirīya Saṃhitā. |
| VaitS | Vaitāna Sūtra. |
| VāsDhS | Vāsiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra. |
| VS | Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. |
| *ZDMG* | *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* |

# SIGLA[1]

## Sources for Puruṣottama's Version of all the Lists

P 1 — Puruṣottama's *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī*, India Office, Eggeling, no. 1777.
P 2 — Idem, Indian Office, no. 1778.
Ed. — Idem, edited by P. Chentsal Rao in *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam.* Mysore, 1900 (2nd edit.).
P — P 1, P 2.
p — Inferred reading of Puruṣottama's original text.
D 1 — Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's *Pravara-darpaṇa*, edited by P. Chentsal Rao. Mysore, 1900.
D 2 — Idem, Indian Office, no. 1780.
D — D 1, D 2.
R — Raghunātha's *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*. Indian Office, no. 1781.
Sk — Jīvadeva's *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*, contained in Anantadeva's *Saṃskāra-kaustubha*, lithog. ed. of 1861.
S — Readings noted in Chentsal Rao's footnotes.
Rm — *Saṃskāra-ratnamāla*, by Gopīnātha-dīkṣita, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 39. Poona, 1899.

## ADDITIONAL SOURCES

### 1. *Baudhāyana*[2]

M — Madras MS.
G — Grantha edition of *Baudh. Smārta Sūtra*, 1905.
T — Tanjore MS.
Bu — Burnell MS.
Be — Benares MS.
U — Ujjain MS.
A — Be, U, p.
B — M, G, T, Bu, (S).

### 2. *Āpastamba*

Garbe — *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Āpast. Śrauta Sūtra.*
ChRao — Chentsal Rao's separate printing of the Āpastamba pravara-chapter, in *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam.*

### 3. *Āśvalāyana*

*BiblInd* — *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
ChRao — Chentsal Rao's separate printing of the Āśvalāyana pravara-chapter.
*VidhPār* — Version of the Āśvalāyana pravara-chapter quoted in the *Vidhāna-Pārijāta, Bibliotheca Indica* edition.
Berl — The two Berlin MSS. of the Āśvalāyana pravara-chapter, printed verbatim by Weber in his Catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library. These two agree almost entirely.

[1] For further details of the manuscripts, see below, pp. 41 ff.
[2] For the first six I have depended on Caland's collations. For fuller details, see his edition of the BŚS, III, p. ix.

4. *Matsya Purāṇa*

| | |
|---|---|
| M 1 | Calcutta edition of the Purāṇa, 1876. |
| M 2 | Ānandāśrama edition of the Purāṇa, 1907. |
| M | M 1, M 2. |
| m | Inferred reading of the Purāṇa archetype. |
| Kṛṣ | *Pravara-dīpikā* of Kṛṣṇa-Śaiva, Indian Office, no. 1779. |

The following closely related accounts are printed for comparison alongside the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mān. | *Mānava-pravarādhyāya*, Indian Office, no. 4599. |
| W | Berlin copy of the Bodleian 'White Yajurveda Pariśiṣṭa', printed in Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library, I, pp. 54 ff. |
| ⟨ ⟩ | Words, etc., to be inserted, not in the sources (or not given at that place). |
| [ ] | Words, etc., to be excised (or transferred elsewhere in the text). |

Where the hyphen is used for the purpose of abbreviation in the apparatus criticus, the full form is everywhere to be supplied from the form given in the text, and not from contiguous words in the apparatus.

For convenience of comparison merely, the names in the Matsya list, Mān. and W, have been numbered to agree with corresponding names in K. & L. This of course does not imply that the order of names in K. & L. is that of the original text.

In printing the lists of proper names, capital initials have been used where the readings are certain or very probably so, small initials where they seem dubious. Where they are almost certainly corrupt, the obelus is employed. In view of the nature of the evidence, however, these three categories are to some extent provisional and must be treated with a certain degree of caution.

For purpose of reference the page numbers of Chentsal Rao's edition are given in the page headings.



# PREFACE[1]

The purpose of this book is to investigate the most important problems connected with the clan-system of the Vedic Brahmans, and to present the textual evidence for the details of that system at the end of the Vedic period. Since the Brahmans have preserved these exogamous clans (*gotra*) down to the present day, the system here described is not exclusively the concern of Vedic specialists, and the account given should also help to supply an important part of the sociological background for those engaged in the study of other aspects and periods of Indian civilisation.

A lack of awareness of this background has at times led to quaint results. For example, a recent English drama on the life of the Buddha portrayed the infant prince as receiving from his father, as if it had been a baptismal name, the *gotra*-name Gautama. It is true that scholars are not likely to fall into such egregious errors, but parallel misconceptions do arise from time to time. Thus, the *Nirukta* ascribed to Yāska is generally held to be earlier than Pāṇini: but to add to the argument the fact that Pāṇini 'actually mentions the formation of the proper name Yāska' gives no additional support. Pāṇini's rule is concerned simply with the grammatical formation of the *gotra*-name Yāska, a name which must have been borne by a very large number of individuals. Similarly, the identity of *gotra*-name is in itself no argument for identifying Kātyāyana the Sūtra-author and Kātyāyana the grammarian, or Patañjali the grammarian and the Patañjali who composed the *Yoga-sūtras*. It might at first sight be suspected that a name like Patañjali has been interpolated into the lists simply to ascribe a well-known author to a gotra; and such a thing may of course have occurred from time to time. But this is unlikely in the present instance. Weber[2] long ago pointed out that the name Patañjali is in some way connected with that of Pataṃcala Kāpya (ŚB); and although he was misled by a corrupt source (i.e., *W*, p. 152) into ascribing the Patañjalis to the Viśvāmitra gotra, the occurrence among the Kapis, as expected, of the forms Patañcala, Patañjala and Patañjali, proves the point (pp. 124, 126).

A different type of misunderstanding has arisen in the interpretation of the *Kacchapa-jātaka*.[3] Here the tortoise which has seized hold of the monkey is

[1] The main part of this book was completed almost nine years ago, but owing to the delays inevitable in post-war publication, and other unforeseen causes, it has not been possible to produce it earlier. To avoid further delay, it has been felt advisable to include a number of additional notes and observations in this preface, rather than disarrange the pages which had already been set in type.

[2] *History of Indian Literature* (English translation), p. 223. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 230, seems to have thought that Weber identified Pataṃcala Kāpya and the Yoga-author Patañjali. But Weber's remark is concerned simply with the name.

[3] *Jātaka*, vol. II, p. 360.

admonished, 'Kaśyapa, let go Kauṇḍinya', and Oldenberg[1] comments that this is probably an allusion to a marriage prohibition separating the two human families. But the Kauṇḍinyas, being Vasiṣṭhas, are in fact marriageable with the Kaśyapas, and the jest is the other way round: the tortoise has presumed on the gotra-eligibility to make advances to the monkey. The Pali commentator gives the correct explanation, but this is dismissed by Oldenberg in a footnote: 'Anders der Kommentar zu der Stelle'.

Sylvain Lévi[2] adduced the names Āmbhi and Bhagala from the *Gaṇapāṭha*, and as these are in all probability the originals of the forms Omphis and Phegelas in the Greek sources, he went on to argue that since Āmbhi as the name of a dynasty disappears from the sources, it must soon have been forgotten; and therefore the *Gaṇapāṭha* must have been compiled about the time of the Macedonian invasion. But again, both names occur in the gotra-lists, and the argument thus loses even a semblance of probability. The present work, by making the material more readily accessible, may assist towards a better perspective in matters of this sort.

On the subject of the *pravara* ritual, Hillebrandt[3] gives a number of the Ṛgvedic formulae (see below, p. 20), and thereafter quotes the Sūtra-ritual; 'Gott Agni...wie beim Opfer Manu's, Bharata's, NN's und des Sohnes des NN., wie bei Brahman's Opfer' (see p. 9). On this he comments, 'Wir sehen zwar, dass hier vor den Namen wirklicher Vorfahren Manu, Bharata als mythische Ahnherren genannt werden....Aber nicht *atrivát*, *bhṛguvát* oder *angirasvát*, wie im R.V. wird Agni angerufen, sondern nur *manuṣvát*, *bharatavát*, und das Ritual hat an dieser Stelle anstatt der früheren Mannigfaltigkeit allein Manu und den Bharata's einen Platz bewahrt.' This, however, overlooks the fact that the variable N.N. here represents the *pravara*-names, among which forms such as *atrivát* regularly occur; and it is difficult to see why Bhṛgu or Angiras should be accorded a higher degree of reality than Manu or Bharata.

On the question of the magic potency of the *pravara*-names, it may be of interest to compare with the examples cited on pp. 18ff. a much later example of a quasi-magical use of names, with the Buddhas of former times taking the place of the Ṛṣis:[4]

> *vipaśvinas tejasā ṛddhyā ca śikhinas tathā*
> *viśvabhukprajñayā* (sic) *caiva krakucchandabalena ca*
> *kanakamuneḥ śikṣāyāṃ kāśyapasya guṇair*[5] *api*
> *śākyasiṃhasya vīryeṇa śivaṃ bhavatu sadā mama*

'Through the brilliance of Vipaśvin, the magic power of Śikhin, the wisdom of Viśvabhu, the might of Krakucchanda, the teaching of Kanakamuni, the

[1] *Religion des Veda*, p. 82.
[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, I, 234ff.
[3] *Vedische Mythologie* (2nd edition), I, 71.
[4] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Trivandrum Sansk. Ser., no. 76, p. 397), chap. 36.
[5] The edition has *guṇor*.





excellences of Kāśyapa, and the strength of Śākyasiṃha, may my prosperity be for ever assured'.

There are a few interesting divergences in the Sūtra-lists from the forms of names known in the earlier Vedic literature. In some of these a Prakritic tendency may have been at work, as in the case we have already noted where *Patañjali* replaces the older form *Patañcala*. Similarly the well-known name *Laugākṣi* occurs alongside the older forms *Lokākṣa*, *Laukākṣi* (pp. 162, 168); and *Gāṇagāri*, *Mādragāri* appear with *Gāṇakāri*, *Mādrakāri* (pp. 122, 127, 133). As against *Vārṣṇivṛddha* (KB vii 4) the Sūtra-lists all have *Viṣṇuvṛddha*, a form which is further supported by later inscriptions. Here the replacement of *Vṛṣṇi-* by the better known *Viṣṇu-* may have been assisted by a semi-Prakritic form **Viṣṇi-*. (Does this consideration help to explain the apotheosis of the pastoral hero Kṛṣṇa, of the Vṛṣṇi-race, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu rather than of some other deity?) The *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (vi. 33) relates a quarrel between Abhyagni Aitaśāyana and his father Etaśa, and the former is stigmatised as the worst of the Aurvas. (The *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa*, xxx. 5, calls him Aitaśāyana Ājāneya, and the worst of the Bhṛgus.) In the Sūtras, on the other hand, the sources unanimously spell the name *Aitiśāyana*. This is doubtless due to the name Etaśa being no longer familiar, and a feeling that the first part of the name somehow contained *iti-*. Rather different is the case of *Gaurikṣita* among the Yāskas (pp. 92, 98). I have with some hesitation retained this form in the text, since the sources are unanimous for *-au-*, except for one late reading *-ai-* (perhaps a scribal emendation). But the original name must certainly have been *Gairikṣita*. The latter appears in the Yajurveda as a Yaska patronymic (KS xiii. 12), and the form *Gauri-* looks more like an error of writing than a genuine development. The name Girikṣit occurs also with the patronymic Auccāmanyava (see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*), and the latter would seem to be connected with the name Uccairmanyu, which occurs in the Baudhāyana list (p. 80) not among the Yaskas, but among the Vatsas.

In an earlier article on the subject[1] I have endeavoured to show that the 'Hymn-families' of the Ṛgveda are the direct ancestors of the main gotras in the Sūtra accounts: the Ṛgvedic Vasiṣṭhas, for example, forming a clan rather than a family in the narrower sense. Although the explicit prohibition of marriage within the gotra does not appear in the literature until the Sūtras, it is natural to suppose that these early clans also followed a rule of exogamy. This view is in harmony with a more recent suggestion by Professor E. Benveniste concerning the interpretation of the word *ari*. This word, which in the Ṛgveda appears at times to refer to enemies and at times to friends, was examined in great detail by Thieme,[2] who concluded that the most satisfactory rendering was 'stranger

[1] 'The Early History of the Gotras', *JARS*, 1946, 1947.
[2] *Der Fremdling im Ṛgveda*.

foreigner', since the stranger in some contexts might be a guest, and in others an object of suspicion. The name by which the Indo-Iranians designated themselves, *ārya*, would then be understood as meaning 'The Hospitable Ones'. This appears improbable as an ethnic name, and is open to the further objection that if *ari* fundamentally means 'stranger either as guest or enemy', there seems no reason why one side of the ambivalence should be arbitrarily chosen for the derivative, or why the *āryas* might not equally well be 'The Inimical Ones'. Benveniste[1] proposed to solve the riddle by taking *ari* as the designation of the other moiety of a society with 'dual organisation'. The word would thus denote for any individual that part of the tribe into which he or she might lawfully marry. This seems to me a most attractive theory,[2] and it explains satisfactorily the ambivalence of the term, since the *ari* would come as a friend to the marriage ceremony; while it is well known that rivalry, amounting at times to open hostility, is a common feature of the relationship between exogamous groups in many human societies. A striking passage in support of this interpretation is RV x. 28. 1, *víśvo hy ànyó arír ājagā́ma máméd áha śváśuro nā́ jagāma*, 'Though every other *ari* has come, my father-in-law has not come'. Further, the deity Aryaman is especially concerned with marriage; and the *āryas* might conceivably be, as Benveniste suggested, 'descendants of *aris*', that is, the offspring of legitimate marriage unions. However this may be, the Ṛgveda affords no evidence to contradict the assumption of an exogamous society; and Dr A. C. Banerjea[3] has recently shown that the relationship terminology of the Brāhmaṇa period can also be satisfactorily interpreted on the same assumption, the term *jāmi*, for example, denoting a 'sister' according to the classificatory type of nomenclature: that is, not only the daughter of a man's physical parents, but also all the other women of his generation whom he is forbidden to marry under the rule of exogamy.

In an important article, Professor D. D. Kosambi[4] has developed a theory that the Vedic Brahmans were to a large extent recruited from the priest-class of the conquered pre-Aryan population. We are unfortunately not yet able to prove or to disprove the contention that the dāsas of the Ṛgveda were the last remnants of the Indus-valley civilisation, though Kosambi has shown that this is at least a possible hypothesis. His main theory, however, is more difficult to accept.

[1] This suggestion was put forward in the course of a lecture on 'The Study of the Indo-European Vocabulary' delivered before the University of London in May, 1949.

[2] A slight adjustment is however necessary, if the 'hymn-families' of the Ṛgveda are in fact the exogamous units. The organisation would thus be similar to the later system, where a member of one gotra could marry into any one of the others, and a dual organisation in the strict sense is improbable. This of course does not affect the interpretation of *ari*, since from the point of view of any individual the society still divides into two groups, his own clan on the one hand, and all the remaining clans on the other.

[3] *Studies in the Brāhmaṇas*, Thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London. Copies in the University Library, and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

[4] 'On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras', *Journal of the Bombay Branch R.A.S.*, 1950, 26, 21–80.





He holds, in brief, that certain priest-groups of the dāsas were adopted by the Vedic Aryans; that they in consequence adopted the patriarchal clan-groupings of those (kṣatriya) Aryans for whom they officiated; and that from them many of the later Brahman gotras were descended, including the Bhṛgu-Angiras groups and the Vasiṣṭhas. The Viśvāmitras on the other hand are held to be true Aryan priests who were supplanted in the service of Sudās by the dāsa Vasiṣṭhas. This is held to account for the later tradition that Viśvāmitra was a *rājarṣi*; and in general the theory is taken to explain the later rule that a Kṣatriya takes the gotra of his purohita, this being, according to Kosambi, an inversion of the original state of affairs where the dāsa Brahman took the gotra of the Aryan Kṣatriya for whom he officiated as priest.

Now it seems reasonably certain that the Ṛgveda shows traces of pre-Aryan religious concepts in its legendary material; and it may well be that individual dāsa-priests were adopted into the Aryan community. But this is a very different matter from the wholesale absorption of clans. An adoption on the scale envisaged by the theory would surely have left far more definite traditions. The traditional enmity of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, for example, is easily enough understood even although both parties were of the same race. And it is not a sufficient answer to say that the facts were later suppressed, since an amalgamation such as is postulated would have had no reason to consider its origins 'too derogatory to acknowledge'. Moreover, as an explanation of the rule that a Kṣatriya takes the gotra of his purohita, the theory would appear to be superfluous, since it is admitted that the patriarchal clan-organisation was already in existence among the Aryans; and hence that alongside the adopted Vasiṣṭha Brahmans there already existed Kṣatriya Vasiṣṭhas, and presumably Vaiśya Vasiṣṭhas. The situation is therefore most naturally explained by assuming that in the Ṛgvedic period a gotra contained warriors and common folk as well as priests, and that the Brahmans later laid claim to an exclusive possession of gotras, explaining the gotras of the others by the purohita-rule. This does not in any way require that the priests should have been racially distinct from the other Aryan classes.

On pp. 26–27 of the same article it is stated that the Buddha, as a descendant of Ikṣvāku, 'claimed the *ādicca* gotra, and if the Buddha himself is Gotama, it can only be his personal name as his mother's son; for his step-mother, his mother's sister, is Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī and marriage within the gotra is excluded'. But *āditya-gotra* does not refer to clan at all, being simply a claim to the lineage of the Solar race of kings: and there is no reason to doubt that the Buddha's gotra in the normal Brahmanical sense was Gautama. It is as a Gautama also that he is addressed as Āngirasa. A matrilineal descent of a gotra name seems incredible, and the natural explanation would seem to be that Mahāprajāpatī took the name Gautamī, virtually as a surname, on the occasion of her marriage into the clan.

Kosambi's argument on p. 39 concerning the descendants of Tvāṣṭra is largely void through uncertainty. The two names Tittiri and Kapiñjala, belonging to the Garga Bharadvājas and the Upamanyu Vasiṣṭhas respectively, are in any case small families within the larger clans, and may well be of late origin; while the name Tvāṣṭreya which he quotes among the Jamadagnis does not belong to the Sūtra texts at all, but comes from one of the supplementary lists in the Pravara-darpaṇa (see below, p. 43). Since these lists contain a large number of entries which are variants of the names in the Sūtra lists, it is not unlikely that Tvāṣṭreya here is simply a corruption of Bhrāṣṭreya. Similarly the name Rāvaṇa occurs only in some of the sources for the Matsya Purāṇa (below, p. 183), and as there is nothing to correspond in the Sūtra lists, it is clearly the result of textual corruption, and can be dismissed from the argument.

It is natural in considering a society with exogamous clans to enquire whether the clans are also totemic; and Kosambi, reviving the argument from animal gotra-names, holds that totemism was in fact characteristic of the gotras, at least in their origin.[1] It seems to me that the evidence is altogether too slender to support the hypothesis. A number of animal names admittedly occur in the gotra lists, for example Tittiri and Kapiñjala mentioned above: but these are names of small families within the clan, and it is prima facie unlikely that such small subdivisions should possess their own totems. By themselves, these names are no better evidence for totemism than English surnames such as Fox or Heron. From the names of the larger clan-groupings, Kosambi gives four which he considers to be totemic, but these are likewise unconvincing. Thus *Gotama* is merely 'the possessor of excellent cattle', or 'best provided with cattle', and is no evidence for a bull-totem. *Bharadvāja* is 'he who brings booty', and if the word also means a skylark, this is clearly secondary, and presumably results from observation of the bird carrying food to its nest. *Kauśika* admittedly means owl, but it would seem that *Kuśika* does not; and hence at the best the bird may have been named after the clan or the eponymous ṛṣi, and not the clan after the bird—if indeed Kauśika here does not mean 'Indra's bird'. Even the well-known sense of 'tortoise' for *Kaśyapa* may be secondary, since we have also the Prakritic *kacchapa* 'tortoise', presumably connected with Skt. *kakṣa-*; and it is not improbable that *kaśyapa* 'tortoise' results merely from a folk-etymology. The essential feature of totemism which we should look for is the definite identification of an individual with his totem; and there seems in fact to be no evidence of this among the Vedic Aryan clans. The tortoise built into the fire-altar which Kosambi cites from ŚB vii. 5. 1 seems to be no more totemic than the toads used in medieval witches' potions.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 28; also *JBBRAS*, 1946, 22, 44. See also Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 82–83, who quotes names such as Vatsa, Śunaka, Kauśika, Māṇḍūkeya, etc. For a detailed list of proper names taken from animals and plants, see J. A. van Velze. *Names of Persons in Early Sanscrit Literature*, Utrecht, 1938, p. 95ff.





It is not yet possible to write a complete history of the gotra system in the post-Vedic period. Information in classical Sanskrit literature is slight; but a promising line of research is offered by the inscriptions, especially the records of grants of land to Brahmans. In these the gotra of the recipient is regularly mentioned, and frequently the pravara also. Although the number of gotras and sub-divisions mentioned in those inscriptions which I have examined is relatively small, and does not show the great diversity of the Sūtra lists, a detailed study of their occurrence and distribution might produce interesting results. Though the agreement with the Sūtra pravaras is generally close, there are occasional divergences, some of which at least must betray fictitious Brahmans: see for example below, p. 21, note 1. Similarly, in a copperplate grant of Janamejaya of Cuttack (*Epigr. Ind.* iii. 342) a Gautama claims the pravara *Gautuma*,[1] *Angirasa, Vārhaspatya*, where the last name really belongs to the Bhāradvājas. In the Sūtras the Gobhilas are a subdivision of the Śaṇḍila-Kāśyapas (below, pp. 36, 161, 166, 170); but in an inscription (*Epigr. Ind.* iv. 112) we find a Gobhila giving his pravara as *Gobhila, Āngarisa, Āmvariṣa*, which is clearly derived from the pravara of the Harita-Kutsa group of Kevala Āngirasas (*Āngirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva*).

One curious point in the inscriptions is the term *anupravara*, which is foreign to the Sūtras. This word is used in two ways. In some cases it means the pravara in the Adhvaryu's form, for example, in the grant of Janamejaya mentioned above, *Kauccha-gotraḥ* (i.e. *Kautsa-*) *Angirasavarṣa-* (i.e. *āngirasāmbarīṣa-*) *Yovanaśva-pravaraḥ Yuvanaśva⟨va⟩d-Amvariṣa⟨va⟩d-Angira-anupravaraḥ*. In other cases the term is applied to the third member of a three-ṛṣi pravara, the second member being called *pravara*, and the first *gotra*. Thus, the Gautama mentioned in the previous paragraph described himself as *Gautuma-gotraḥ Angirasa-pravaraḥ Vārhaspatyānupravaraḥ*. Other examples I have noted are *Agasti-gotraḥ Īdhmavāha[va]-pravara-cyavānupravaraḥ* (the third name should presumably be Dārḍhacyuta, though the Sūtras in this case give it in the second place, and Aidhmavāha in the third); and *Kṛṣ⟨n⟩ātreya-gotraḥ Ārccanānasa-pravaraḥ Śyāvāśva[na]-anupravaraḥ* (*Epigr. Ind.* iii. 134).

A further task which ought to be undertaken is a survey of the gotras of Brahmans at the present day. Professor Kosambi has informed me that he is urging the importance of such a survey in India, and it is to be hoped that he is successful in persuading his countrymen to collect this information. A start has in fact been made for one group of Brahmans by V. T. Shete,[2] who has published a valuable account of the gotras at present known among the Śukla-yajurvedīya Mādhyandina Brahmans of Mahārāṣtra. In this work he gives an alphabetical list of the modern surnames, each followed by the gotra and the village where the family resides. In all he lists 188 gotra-names, and it is of great interest to note

[1] I have not troubled to correct the sometimes barbarous spellings of these inscriptions.
[2] Viśvanātha Tryambaka Śeṭe, *Gotrāvali*. (Yājñavalkya Āśrama, Poona.) 2nd edition, 1951.

that in addition to the major gotras and gaṇas, many of the minor subdivisions of the Sūtra lists still occur.

As this book was written under the difficulties of wartime conditions, the material was necessarily restricted to such books and manuscripts as were available in England. In this connection I am especially grateful to Dr H. N. Randle, then Librarian of the India Office Library, who generously allowed me to use the relevant India Office manuscripts in Cambridge. It is possible that the collation of further manuscripts from India might throw light on points which are still doubtful (why, for example, should the Vāmadevas, Gautamas *par excellence*, appear in a whole group of sources among the Kevala Āngirasas?): but this task I must leave for others. For the Sūtra lists as a whole the manuscripts here collated appear to form a reasonable sample, and it is not likely that further collations would materially improve the situation.

As Horace realised, it is difficult at the best of times to remain entirely satisfied with a work after the lapse of nine years; and while reading the proofs I have felt that occasionally I may have been overbold in the matter of conjectural restoration. But in every case the evidence on which a reading is based lies before the reader, and I have therefore refrained from attempting any radical revision at this stage. Such a revision could in fact only be accomplished satisfactorily by reworking the whole material *ab initio*, a process which would involve an additional delay in publication out of all proportion to the improvements likely to accrue. If obvious errors still remain, I take comfort in the thought that they may to some degree mitigate the tedium of the reward which appears to be promised in the last paragraph of the Sūtra texts (pp. 214–215). *Pater ipse colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit*: but I trust that this first ploughing will ease the labours of any future cultivator.

It remains for me to express my sincere gratitude to the Syndicate of the University Press for their generosity in undertaking the publication of this work; to the printers for the care and accuracy with which they have produced it; and above all to my wife, who not only typed most of the text, but also throughout encouraged and sustained me.

J.B.

BISHOP'S STORTFORD
*August*, 1952

# INTRODUCTION

## PRAVARA AND EXOGAMY

THE PRINCIPLE OF EXOGAMY, in virtue of which a man must marry outside his own hereditary group or clan, has come to be recognised as a factor of prime importance in the organisation of many widely divergent types of human society, and its operation among primitive tribes has been closely studied by anthropologists. Up to the present, however, the exogamous system of the ancient Brahmanical families has been largely neglected, and in fact there is no detailed and reliable account in English to which the anthropologist can turn for information. The small interest shown by orientalists in this particular aspect of the social organisation of early India is doubtless due in part to the almost unbelievably corrupt state of the textual transmission of the documents, which is indeed so bad that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to reconstitute the text of the long lists of family names with any certainty. In spite of this, however, the main outlines of the system stand out quite clearly; and the present study has, therefore, been undertaken in order to make good this neglect, and to present an account of the organisation of the system at the end of the Sūtra-period (*c.* fourth century B.C.), as it is described in the so-called *pravarādhyāyas*, which are appendices to the ritual Sūtras. For this purpose the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* of Puruṣottama-paṇḍita has been chosen as a basis. This work, a medieval treatise on the subject, quotes verbatim the most important Sūtra texts, and comments discursively on them. Before proceeding to the translation of this work, however, it seems desirable to give a general account of the system, and to discuss some of the problems raised. It is hoped that both orientalists and anthropologists will find here material of interest, although naturally the latter will find much that is irrelevant to their purposes in the technicalities of a discussion which has been written primarily from another point of view.

Among the Brahmans, as also among many other castes in Hindu society, marriage is in general restricted in three ways. First, a man may not marry outside his 'caste' (*jāti*). Second, a man may not marry those who fall within certain degrees of prohibited relationships, generically designated his *sapiṇḍas*, i.e. persons who share with him in the funeral oblation to a common ancestor. This restriction corresponds in type to the European 'tables of prohibited degrees', and according to the most usual definition, extends back to the seventh generation on the father's side, and the fifth on the mother's.[1] Third, a man must marry outside his own 'clan' (*gotra*). It is with this third restriction that the present work is concerned, and specifically with the early history of the

[1] See for example GautDhS 4. 3–5, Manu 5. 60, Nārada 12. 7.

exogamous groups among the Brahmans, for whom alone we possess detailed accounts of the system, in the 'pravara-chapters' already mentioned.

Exogamous systems may be conveniently classified in two main groups, symmetrical and non-symmetrical. The former is best exemplified in the well-known dual organisation and its modifications into four- and eight-class systems, where a man belonging to one moiety of a tribe must always take a wife from the other moiety. A rather different type of symmetrical system may be seen in a four-class society, where a man of class A marries a woman of B, a man of B marries into C, C marries into D, and D marries into A.[1] The Brahmanical gotra-system, on the contrary, is non-symmetrical in structure. Thus, a man belonging to one of the eighteen gotras may in general marry into any one of the remaining seventeen, though there are indeed exceptions, which we shall note as we come to them. It is worth noting at the outset that there is not the slightest trace of evidence that the system has developed out of a more symmetrical type of organisation.

The Brahmanical gotra, which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor. It is clear that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra overlaps with the sapiṇḍa restriction, since many of the sapiṇḍas on the father's side are also sagotras. It is possible, therefore, that the two regulations were originally independent, and that the historical situation represents a fusion of two distinct cultural traditions. There is, however, no direct evidence on this point, and we must be content to observe that within the historical period both restrictions exist together. An approximate statement of the position, when both regulations are applied, would be that marriage is prohibited within the joint-family up to several (usually five) generations on the mother's side, up to seven on the father's side where descent is through a female, and without limit in the direct male line. This is the prescription of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra,[2] *asapiṇḍā ca yā mātur asagotrā ca yā pituḥ*, i.e. a fitting bride is one who is not a sapiṇḍa of the mother's, and (neither a sapiṇḍa) nor of the same gotra as the father. The often quoted verse, usually attributed to Śātātapa, *mātulasya sutām ūḍhvā mātṛgotrāṃ tathaiva ca*, etc., which prohibits marriage also within the mother's gotra, would seem to be a later extension due to an over-zealous puritanical spirit; and the lack of parallels in the legal literature would seem to indicate that it never became part of the regularly accepted practice.

The matter is further complicated by a quite different prescription, namely, that a man may not marry a woman who has the same *pravara* as himself. A pravara is a stereotyped list of names of ancient *ṛṣis* or seers, who are believed to be the remote founders of the family. This list is regularly recited at specific points in the sacrificial ritual. In the Sūtra appendices, these pravaras are classified according to the main exogamous gotras, and in effect therefore this last

[1] Hodson, *Primitive Culture of India*, pp. 92 ff. [2] 3. 5.





prohibition is precisely the same as the restriction as to gotra, since those prevented from marriage by considerations of pravara are also members of the same gotra. It would in fact seem that the sole reason for the pravara rule in marriage was that it formed an infallible test of the exogamous group to which a man belonged, when the prohibition as to gotra was gradually coming to be insufficient by itself, since in the course of linguistic development the word came to be applied loosely to various subdivisions of the exogamous classes, and even to individual families.

In his book, *Hindu Exogamy* (Bombay, 1929), S. V. Karandikar has suggested that in the sacrificial ritual a man originally had the fullest liberty to choose whatever *ṛṣi*-names he wished for the pravara-ceremony, and he deduces that, at the time of this supposed freedom, the exogamous groups had not yet come into existence, and that in fact a man could choose to belong to whatever gotra he pleased. The gotras, he believes, were in origin ritual colleges, which only later became hereditary exogamous groups. Karandikar, however, has completely failed to support this view with logical argument. Even if the pravara-recitation in the sacrifice was originally a matter for complete freedom of choice it is obviously quite illegitimate to argue from this that exogamous groups did not exist at that time; and his suggestion that the Brahmans transformed their ritual colleges into exogamous clans on the model of aboriginal exogamous societies with which they came in contact, would seem to go beyond all bounds of probability. The view that the Brahmanical gotras were fundamentally ritual corporations rather than purely social groupings might be thought to receive some support from the common opposition in the texts between *ārṣa*-gotras and *laukika*-gotras, these two expressions being taken to mean 'spiritual' and 'profane' families respectively. As we shall see, such a view is not probable. Nevertheless, it is clearly desirable that any discussion of the gotra-system which attempts to be comprehensive must include a treatment of the pravara question.

One of the most interesting and important historical problems connected with the system is the relation of the exogamous gotra to the endogamous caste. Senart[1] was of the opinion that the castes were directly related to an Indo-European type of social organisation, and to uphold this theory has equated the Indian gotra with the *gens* of the Romans and the *phratria* of the Greeks. This theory has been summarily dismissed by a number of more recent writers, chiefly on the grounds that it is not till the Sūtra period that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra is evidenced in Indian sources.[2] In spite of such categorical pronouncements, however, the whole question remains an open one, and a re-examination of the available evidence on the subject of gotra is obviously a desideratum.

[1] *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, pp. 207 ff.; English trans. pp. 175 ff.

[2] For example, N. K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 19; S. C. Roy, in *Man in India* (1934), p. 85, seems to have missed the point of Senart's argument.

The unit of the Brahmanical exogamous system is the *gotra* in the wider sense of the term, and there is no reason to doubt that the connection of the pravaras with exogamy is a secondary one. It would therefore be logical to discuss first the gotras themselves, and thereafter turn to consider the question of the pravaras. But in historical times the two questions had become so closely interrelated that such a course would scarcely provide a satisfactory view of the subject, since the system of gotras cannot be adequately expounded without constant reference to the pravara-system. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, we shall first consider the pravaras.

From the time of the Sūtras onwards, the rule is laid down by the religious and legal authors that a man must avoid in marriage both (*a*) persons of the same gotra; and (*b*) persons possessing the same pravara as himself. This *pravara* is a list of names, in most cases three, of (suppositious) ancestors, which is recited at certain points in the sacrificial ritual. The older authorities, however, regularly give only one of the two prescriptions, and it is clear from the detailed exposition of the *pravarādhyāyas* also that the two rules are identical in their effect. Each *gotra* is subdivided into several *gaṇas*, or groups, each gaṇa with its own distinctive pravara. All the gaṇas within one gotra, however, normally have at least one pravara-name in common—that of the eponymous *ṛṣi* of the major gotra; and according to the interpretation of Baudhāyana at the beginning of his pravara-chapter, two pravaras are the 'same' for exogamous purposes if they possess even one name in common. There is, however, an exception in the case of the two families of the Bhṛgus and Angirases, among whom a majority of the names in two pravaras must coincide before marriage is prohibited. In effect, therefore, Bhṛgus may marry with certain other Bhṛgus; but under no circumstances can, for example, a Kaśyapa marry with any other Kaśyapa. This peculiar position of the Bhṛgus and Angirases must be treated more fully later; here it is sufficient to remark that it provides a good reason for considering that the regulation as to pravara is subsequent to the gotra-restriction, since otherwise there would be no conceivable reason for the anomaly. It would seem that the already existing pravaras have been applied to the ordering of a marriage system which they could not quite fit without a certain amount of adjustment in the case of the Bhṛgus and Angirases. The question, therefore, is why the rule of pravara in exogamy should have been made at all.

The answer lies in the word *gotra* itself. In the Baudhāyana pravara-chapter, the term is defined as: *saptānām ṛṣīṇām agastyāṣṭamānāṃ yad apatyaṃ tad gotram*, i.e. a *gotra* is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the seven *ṛṣis* or Agastya. Leaving aside for the minute the case of the Bhṛgus and Angirases, this definition clearly recognises the eight main exogamous groups named after the *ṛṣis* listed by Baudhāyana in a verse immediately preceding: Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, with the addition of Agastya. These in fact remain throughout the units of





exogamy. But as is natural in the course of linguistic development, the meaning of the word *gotra* did not remain fixed in the sense of 'exogamous unit', but was frequently applied to subdivisions of these, and even to individual families within them. Thus we find in inscriptions Brahmans described not only as 'of the Vasiṣṭha-gotra', etc., but even, for example, 'of the Bhāguri-gotra'.[1] In the latter case, the Bhāguris are not in any sense an exogamous unit, but, as may be seen from the pravara-lists, are a subdivision of a subdivision of the unit. Pāṇini[2] uses the word *gotra* in a very precise technical sense, which nevertheless cannot be wholly divorced from the everyday usage of his times; and in Pāṇini the word has no reference to the exogamous groups at all, but is applied to the patriarchal 'Great-families', each of which can only have constituted a very small fraction of the exogamous clan.

The present work is concerned mainly with the organisation of the Brahmans, and a full consideration of the Buddhist and Jaina sources therefore lies outside its scope.[3] It is, however, worth mentioning the technical use of the word *gotra* by both religions. The theory of Jainism conceives the common Indian *karma*, that is, the sum total of acts, etc., which causally determine a man's future existences, as something quite substantial which clings to the soul, and requires to be washed away for the attainment of salvation. Among the different kinds of *karma* they name a *gotra-karma*, which is held to determine a man's caste, social standing, family, and so forth.[4] It is clear that this generalised sense of 'status in society' is not directly derived from the sense of 'exogamous unit', but that the word *gotra* had at the time of the construction of the Jaina system a not dissimilar range of meanings from the English word 'family'.

In the Pāli books, the word *gotta* is not infrequently used in the expected sense, as, for example, *Bhagavā Gotamo gottena*, *Kakusandho Kassapo gottena*, i.e. a Gautama, or a Kaśyapa by gotra. On the other hand, *Vipassī Koṇḍañño gottena*[5] provides an example of the term applied to a subdivision of the

[1] Cf. A. S. Gadre, *Proc. Oriental Congress at Baroda* (1933), p. 669.

[2] See below, p. 51; also Brough, *JRAS* (1946), pp. 41 ff.

[3] Perhaps the chief outstanding problem is the position of men who are certainly Kṣatriyas—the most notable being Gautama the Buddha himself, and the Jaina founder Mahāvīra, a Kāśyapa—who nevertheless bear well-authenticated Brahmanical gotra-names. It is perhaps worthy of note that Gautama is most frequently so called in the Pāli works by orthodox Brahmans (*samaṇo Gotamo*); and it may be that we have here in the Buddhist literature concrete cases of the Brahmanical prescription that a Kṣatriya should take the gotra of his *purohita*. Naturally, and especially in a royal household, the position of purohita would tend to be hereditary (as indeed it frequently is at the present day), and the purohita's gotra-name would in such cases be applicable to whole families of Kṣatriyas, forming as it were an alternative family name. On the other hand, it may be that we have here to reckon with a direct copying of the Brahmanical organisation by Kṣatriyas. It is well known that at the present day many castes who have never made any claim to Brahmanhood are nevertheless organised for exogamous purposes in gotras bearing the Brahmanical names. Some of these are known with certainty to have adopted the system wholesale from the Brahmans in quite recent times, for example, the Suraj-bansis (*Sūrya-vaṃśin*), who adopted the Brahmanical gotra-names and gotra-exogamy in 1871—see Karandikar, *Hindu Exogamy*, p. 229; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, p. 285.

[4] Cf. Das Gupta, *Hist. of Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 191.

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii. 3.

exogamous group (Sk. *Kauṇḍinya*). In addition to this, the Pāli sources have a term *gotra-bhū* (which, however, occurs only in the latest parts of the Canon) applied to one who has become converted to Buddhism, although he has not yet 'entered upon the stream'. The form *gotra*, as against *gotta* for the non-technical sense, is striking, and because of this Rhys Davids and Stede,[1] although translating 'become of the lineage', suggest that it is etymologically equivalent to the Sanskrit *goptṛ*, 'protector'. Thus, presumably, a *gotra-bhū* would be one who had come under the protection of the Buddha. Whether or not this is the case (and the explanation is not free from difficulties) there can be no doubt that the word quickly acquired the sense of the Sanskrit *gotra*, and that, moreover, in the generalised meaning already seen in the Jaina usage. Thus, the *gotra-bhū* is regularly contrasted with *puthujjana*, 'the common herd'. By becoming a member of the Buddhist community, he has, so to speak, acquired a new status. It is with the term *gotra-bhū* rather than with *gotta* that the technical use of *gotra* in Buddhist Sanskrit works is to be connected. In the Mahāyānist schools, however, the word underwent further development. In some of the texts *gotra* can be fittingly understood as 'spiritual class', *gotra-bheda* being the distinction between different types of beings, some of whom are 'destined to be Bodhisattvas', some 'destined to become Pratyeka-Buddhas', and so forth.[2]

In the later Brahmanical works, also, the term *gotra* is applied to families and subfamilies as frequently as to the exogamous clans. In fact, the most usual application of the expression 'founder of the gotra' (*gotra-kāra*) is not to the exogamous groups, but to the eponymous seers of the subfamilies within each major gotra. It may be this usage which has occasioned the desperate attempts of such writers as Puruṣottama to interpret the Baudhāyana definition as applying to these subfamilies instead of to the major gotras.[3]

At all events it is clear from the examples cited that in quite early times the word *gotra* had become so elastic in its usage—denoting sometimes the exogamous unit, sometimes a family, sometimes social status generally—that to lay down the rule simply of 'no marriage within the gotra' was by itself quite inadequate, if the exogamous structure of the society was to be preserved. Therefore, we may presume, the Brahmans were forced to express the rule more explicitly, and, finding to hand the pravaras already classified according to the seers claimed as eponymous ancestors of the exogamous groups, naturally turned these to account. It is true that the rule 'no marriage between persons having the same pravara' required a certain amount of modification and interpretation before it fitted the requirements of the marriage system; but compared with

[1] P.T.S. Dict. *s.v.*

[2] Cf. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 84ff.; Har Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 51ff. On the theological development of the term *gotra* in the sense of 'saintly lineage', see Obermiller, in *Acta Orientalia*, IX (1931), pp. 96ff.

[3] See below, pp. 205–9.





the indefinite range of the term *gotra*, the pravara-rule offered a clear and precise method of determining a man's position in the exogamous structure. For the present day, Risley has remarked[1] that among the Deśastha Brahmans the function of the pravara is to serve as a guide, for exogamous purposes, in the case of families who are not specifically mentioned in the gotra-lists handed down. There can be no doubt that the pravaras have in fact fulfilled this function since the earliest days; but it would perhaps be rash to suggest that this was the chief reason for the introduction of the rule of pravara, since it is reasonable to believe that when the gotra-lists were composed their authors included in them all the families with which they were familiar in their own immediate society.

We find, then, the rule stated as, for example, *asamāna-pravarair vivāhaḥ*[2]—marriage is with persons who have different pravaras; *asamāna-ṛṣi-gotra-jātām (udvahet)*[3]—a man must not marry a woman born in the same *ṛṣi*-gotra, that is, gotra as determined by the *ṛṣi*-names of the pravaras. The *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*[4] prohibits a woman of the same 'pravara of *ṛṣis*' (*asamānārṣa-pravarā*) as well as one of the same gotra (*asagotrā*). Manu apparently felt that the prohibition of *gotra* was sufficient by itself; but Yājñavalkya[5] more explicitly says *asamānārṣa-gotra-jām*, i.e. a woman of a different *ārṣa-gotra*. The *Mitākṣarā* interprets this last expression as a Dvandva compound, 'of a different *ārṣa*, i.e. pravara, and of a different gotra'. This is doubtful, and is certainly misleading, since it suggests to the reader that two separate prohibitions are intended. It has indeed even in modern times been stated that Brahmans avoid in marriage both gotra and pravara. The passage noted above from the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* is open to the same interpretation, although in this case the term *asagotrā* may have been intended simply to explain *asamānārṣa-pravarā*. But in Yājñavalkya's phrase it is difficult to see any reason for preferring the Mitākṣara's rendering. The word *ārṣa* is primarily an adjective—'concerned with *ṛṣis*'—and could only have the substantival meaning of *pravara* as the result of an ellipsis. It seems preferable to translate it as an adjective here; and this translation is further upheld by the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* (which could hardly intend *ārṣa-pravara* to mean 'pravara and pravara'), and by the unmodified form of the *Vaikhānasa Sūtra*—*ṛṣi*-gotra. Thus, Yājñavalkya here is quite clearly defining the kind of gotra that a man is to avoid: it is not gotra in the everyday sense of 'family', that is, not the *laukika*-gotra, but the *ārṣa*-gotra, that is, the gotra connected with the *ṛṣis*. In brief, *ārṣa*-gotra means, not 'pravara and gotra', but 'gotra as determined by the *ṛṣi*-names in one's pravara'. In the use of the pravaras, therefore, we are to see simply a mechanism whereby the exogamous group is defined, and the system preserved from the dissolution which the inexact usages of the word *gotra* might have brought about.

[1] *Census of India* (1901), vol. I, Ethnographic Appendices, p. 114.

[2] GautDhS 3. 2; VārāhaGS 10. 2.

[3] Vaikhānasa Sūtra 3. 2.

[4] 24. 9.

[5] I. 3. 53.

## THE PRAVARA IN THE RITUAL

The earliest direct references to the pravara-ceremony as an element in the Śrauta ritual appear in the Yajur-veda texts. It is not until we come to the Sūtras, however, that our information becomes at all detailed, since most of the Brāhmaṇa passages which deal with the matter would be largely unintelligible without the aid of the Sūtras. In all these texts the pravara occurs only in connection with the Śrauta ritual, and there is no hint of its employment on any other occasion. But in later times, no doubt as a secondary result of its use in regulating marriage, the pravara came to have a much wider application, so that for the present day a modern Hindu can write:[1] 'Every Brahman is obliged by law to pronounce the names of his important ancestors who were the founders of his family, whenever he has to perform a sacred act or has to repeat his prayers or invoke the gods, in order to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing. Practically, a Brahman repeats their name thrice every day, when he repeats his morning, noon and evening prayers.' So, too, Monier Williams, in describing the morning Sandhyā, says:[2] 'The last act but one is a recitation of the family pedigree (*gotroccāra*); for every high caste man is supposed to be under the religious obligation of preserving the memory of his ancestors, and maintaining the line of his family descent unbroken. Not only, therefore, does he worship his departed forefathers with offerings and prayers at the Śrāddha services, but the recitation of his own genealogy forms an important part of the daily Sandhyā ceremonial. For example, the worshipper says: "I belong to a particular gotra (or tribe of Brahmans); I have three ancestors—Āngirasa, Śainya, and Gārgya;[3] I am a student of the Āśvalāyana Sūtra, and follow the Śākala-Śākhā of the Ṛgveda."' But such an extensive use of the pravara is certainly not prescribed by the ancient texts—the silence of the Gṛhya Sūtras is probably conclusive for the Sandhyās—and usage has no doubt developed considerably since the time of the Sūtras. But it is clear that before then the pravara was already well established as a frequent and important element in the ritual.

In the ritual texts the description of the pravara regularly occurs in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices. But since in effect this form of sacrifice underlies all *iṣṭis*[4] the recitation of the pravara forms an integral part of virtually every Śrauta offering. In the regular *iṣṭi*, the pravara is first recited by the Hotṛ,

[1] P. Chentsal Rao, *Gotra and Pravara*, p. i.

[2] *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (1887), p. 407.

[3] The complete loss of the significance of the *vṛddhied* form is certainly surprising. It is worth noting also that the ancient texts give no grounds for confusing the pravara-*ṛṣis* and the *Pitṛs*.

[4] Cf. *SBE* xxx, pp. 345ff.





immediately after the Sāmidhenīs, or Kindling-verses. While the Adhvaryu pours a libation of butter on the fire, the Hotṛ proceeds:[1]

*agne mahām̐ asi brāhmaṇa bhārata; bhārgava cyāvanāpnavānaurva jāmadagnya.*

'O Agni, thou art great, O thou possessed of Bráhman-power, O thou who art kin to Bharata,[2] kin to Bhṛgu, to Cyavana, to Apnavāna, to Ūrva, to Jamadagni.'

Then follows the series of short formulae called Nivids: 'Kindled by gods, kindled by men, praised by the *ṛṣis*, delighted in by inspired sages.'[3] This order of ritual seems to be invariable in all the texts. The Brāhmaṇas make it quite clear that Agni is here being invited to officiate as Hotṛ, and it seems most probable that it was from this circumstance that the name *pravara* arose, only later coming to be transferred to the list of names recited in the invitatory formula. The same holds good in the second pravara a little later in the rite. The human Hotṛ-priest, who, as the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* remarks,[4] was not previously 'in very truth' a Hotṛ, is ceremonially invited by the Adhvaryu to act as Hotṛ. The formula is similar to the first pravara, but not identical. After a second libation of butter, the Hotṛ says: 'Announce (*āśrāvaya*) the sacrifice among the gods, announce me among men, for fame, glory and splendour of bráhman-power (*brahmavarcasāya*).' The Adhvaryu then solemnly addresses the Agnīdhra, *o3ṃ śrā3vaya*, and receives his reply, *astu śrau3ṣaṭ*. He then continues:

*agnir devo daivyo hotā devān yakṣad vidvāṃś cikitvān manuṣvad bharatavad; jamadagnivad ūrvavad apnavānavac cyavanavad bhṛguvad; brahmaṇvad eha vakṣad brāhmaṇā asya yajñasya prāvitāraḥ; (asau) mānuṣaḥ.*

'Agni the god is the divine Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods, the wise and knowing one; as Manu did, as Bharata did, as Jamadagni, Ūrva, Apnavāna, Cyavana and Bhṛgu did, as Brahman (?) did,[5] so may he bring them (the gods)

[1] TS 2. 5. 9; ŚB 1. 4. 2; KB 3. 2; TB 3. 5. 3; ĀŚS 1. 2. 27ff.; ŚŚS 1. 4. 14ff., etc.

[2] Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 81 (following Weber, *ISt* IX, p. 324) translates: 'der du dem Brahman, dem Bharata gedient hast.' It cannot be denied that something of the sort is the meaning in Bhārgava, etc.; but originally Agni Bhārata, so frequently mentioned from the RV onwards, was Agni of the Bhāratas rather than Agni of Bharata; and the bráhman was probably not so concretely personified at so early a date. The sense would seem to be: 'Thou art great, thou hast the magic power bráhman; moreover, thou art of our race [cf. expressions such as Bharatavarṣa, Bharatakhaṇḍa, in the later literature]; not only that, but also a member of the sacrificer's clan.' The Brāhmaṇas absurdly connect Bhārata with *bhar-*, 'to bear'—'thou carrier of the oblations', or (ŚB 1. 4. 2. 2) 'sustainer of the creatures'.

[3] *deveddho manviddhaḥ; ṛṣiṣṭuto viprānumaditaḥ.* The Brāhmaṇas explain *manviddha* as 'kindled by Manu', but the contrast between gods and men seems too pointed to miss. These formulae are certainly very old, cf. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, p. 136, and the nominatives where vocatives might have been expected give an indication that the ceremony was pieced together from older material, possibly, though by no means certainly, after the final redaction of the Ṛgveda.

[4] 1. 5. 1. 13. Cf. also 1. 3. 5. 2, and Eggeling's note, *SBE* XII, p. 95.

[5] This again is doubtful. Neither the later god Brahmā nor the Brahman of the Upaniṣads can be intended. The meaning may be 'as the magic power (of these seers) did', or else *brahmaṇvat* may simply be a not very meaningful echo of *brāhmaṇa* in the first pravara, on the analogy of *Bhārgava*, *Bhṛguvat*, etc.

hither; the guardians of this sacrifice are Brāhmaṇas;[1] NN. is the human (Hotṛ).'[2]

Here also in form the pravara directly concerns Agni and not the human Hotṛ. But there can be no doubt that by implication the human Hotṛ is meant. It is he who is really asked to offer sacrifice 'as Manu did'. As the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa sagely remarks: 'By first naming Agni he propitiates Agni.'[3]

Such, in brief outline, is the context of the pravara in the ritual. Apart from quite insignificant verbal discrepancies,[4] there is complete agreement of all the texts which deal with the matter, so that it is certain that already by the Brāhmaṇa period the pravara was firmly established in the ritual. There is only one point which has caused a little trouble, namely, the exact interpretation of the phrase used in the Brāhmaṇas with reference to the pravara—*ārṣeyaṃ (pra)vṛṇīte*—a phrase which is picked up again by the Sūtras, both in the ritual and in their pravara-appendices, often with significant alterations by way of exegesis. In view of the uncertainty it is worth considering the matter in detail.

## *ĀRṢEYAṂ (PRA)VṚṆĪTE*

There is no doubt at all that by this phrase the Brāhmaṇas no less than the Sūtras intend the recital of the pravara list of names. Karandikar,[5] however, has elaborated a theory of the origin of the phrase which he uses as an argument to reinforce his theory that the pravara-exogamous groups were of very late origin within the Vedic period. It is therefore desirable to examine the question in rather more detail than would otherwise have been necessary, and to try to arrive at a definite idea of the history and import of the phrase.

Haug[6] held that the word *ārṣeya* meant literally 'the ancestral fire', no doubt in the belief that this is the traditional interpretation of the commentators. But an examination of typical commentaries[7] on the phrase shows clearly that this is carrying their explanation further than they intended. In fact, the commentators are merely concerned to stress the fact that it is the Āhavanīya fire which is addressed in the pravara, not the *ṛṣis*, and they do not suggest that *ārṣeya* is actually synonymous with the fire. Haug, however, translates *ārṣeya* as 'ancestral fire', not only in a passage where the word clearly refers to the

[1] Eggeling, *SBE* XII, p. 134: 'The Brāhmaṇas (priests) are guardians of this sacrifice.' The word *brāhmaṇā*, however, is emphatic by position, the point being that they also possess the magic bráhman-power which Jamadagni, etc., possessed.

[2] TS 2. 5. 11; ŚB 1. 5. 1; BŚS 1. 15; ĀŚS 1. 3. 23; ĀpŚS 2. 16; BhārŚS 2. 15; cf. Hillebrandt, op. cit. pp. 87ff.

[3] 1. 5. 1. 15. For this 'propitiation', see below, p. 17.

[4] Such as the omission of the word *daivyo* in the second pravara.

[5] *Hindu Exogamy*, pp. 52ff., following Kṛṣṇaśāstrī Ghule, in an article, unfortunately unobtainable, in the Marāṭhī magazine *Citramaya-jagat* (1923).

[6] *AitBr* II, p. 479.

[7] E.g. Sāyaṇa on TS 2. 5. 8, ŚB 1. 5. 1. 9; Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra on TB 3. 5. 3; and cf. Puruṣottama, below, p. 63.





pravara, but even in one place where the reference is not to pravara matters at all.[1]

Weber[2] showed clearly that Haug's translation was wrong, and that it could not fit even the passage which Haug himself quoted from Āśvalāyana,[3] *yajamānasyārṣeyān pravṛṇīte. . .rājarṣīn vā rājñām*, where *ārṣeyān* is paralleled by *rājarṣīn*; nor for example Kātyāyana's phrase,[4] *yāvanto vā mantrakṛtaḥ*, which must refer to the *ārṣeyas*, who could thus hardly be the ancestral fires of the sacrificer. Weber, therefore, following the commentaries, took the word elliptically in the Sūtras, understanding with the masculine *ārṣeyān* of Āśvalāyana some such word as *ṛṣīn* or *pūrvajān*; and with the neuter *ārṣeyāṇi* of Śānkhāyana and Kātyāyana, *apatyāni* or *nāmadheyāni*. The singular form in the Brāhmaṇas, *ārṣeyam*, he understood as a collective neuter singular, 'line of ancestors' (*Ahnenreihe*).

This, however, is not entirely satisfactory. The phrase *ārṣeyān ṛṣīn* would naturally mean '*ṛṣis* who are also descendants of *ṛṣis*', and in this sense, indeed, it occurs frequently enough in the later Vedic hymns, where the authors pride themselves on their hymn-composing ancestry.[5] But in the case of the pravaras it is difficult to see the reason for the double requirement. In fact, normally one *ṛṣi* in the pravara is not a 'descendant of a *ṛṣi*', but is himself the original *ṛṣi* (*mūlabhūta ṛṣiḥ*) who is, so to say, the founder of the family. In the case of *ārṣeyān pūrvajān*, 'ancestors who are descendants of *ṛṣis*', the same objection holds. In the election of the priests prior to a sacrifice, the Sūtra injunction is normally that one should choose a Brahman who is *ārṣeya*;[6] and indeed in this connection the Yajur-veda uses the phrase *ṛṣir ārṣeyaḥ*.[7] This, however, is in order to guarantee the priest as a member of one of the authentic Brahman clans, as being the descendant of one of the gotra-*ṛṣis*. It is clearly a distinct usage from that seen in the pravara-prescription though of course allied to it. The neuter form, *ārṣeyāṇy apatyāni*, would mean 'descendants who are descendants of *ṛṣis*', and moreover this use of the collective noun *apatya* is open to question. In any case *pūrvajān* and *apatyāni* cannot both be right at the same time. *Ārṣeyāṇi nāmadheyāni* is certainly the least open to objection of the four, and it must be admitted that this is conceivably what was in the minds of the authors of the Sūtras. But it does nothing to explain the phrase. Even if we admit that *ārṣeyāṇi nāmadheyāni* is simply an alternative way of saying *ṛṣīṇāṃ nāmadheyāni*, it still remains to explain why this clumsy expression should have been used in preference to the more straightforward one. In fairness to Weber,

[1] AB 7. 25, and 8. 3. In the latter passage the word refers to the authorship of a hymn, cf. Keith, *HOS* XXV, p. 321, the use being similar to the *ārṣa* of the Anukramaṇīs, meaning 'authored' by so-and-so.

[2] *ISt* IX, pp. 321ff.; X, p. 69.

[3] ĀŚS 1. 3. 1ff.

[4] KŚS 3. 28.

[5] E.g. AV 11. 1. 26.

[6] See for example ŚŚS 5. 1. 1; ĀpŚS 10. 1. 1.

[7] TS 1. 4. 43*k*, 6. 6. 1. 4; VS 7. 46; see also ŚB 4. 3. 4. 19, and below, p. 213; Weber, *ISt* X, p. 70.

it is worth repeating that all these interpretations are founded on commentatorial authority.

The important point to make with regard to all this is that the Sūtra forms are in every case an echo of the singular of the Brāhmaṇas, giving as it were an exegetical commentary on the Brāhmaṇa phrase. It is therefore impossible to add the connotation of 'ancestral' to the word *ārṣeya* as used in the Sūtras, and from this go on to infer the same connotation for the Brāhmaṇas, as Weber seems to do—since he gives no additional reason why *ārṣeyam* should mean 'line of ancestors'.

Eggeling,[1] instead of taking the *ārṣeya* of the Brāhmaṇas as a neuter noun, believed that originally it was a masculine adjective qualifying a supplied *agniṃ hotāram*. He therefore translates *athārṣeyaṃ pravṛṇīte* as 'He now calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotṛ priest)', and adds in his footnote: 'Literally, "he chooses the ancestral" (*ṛṣi*)....In this way the formula is explained by Sāyaṇa on ŚB I. 5. I. 9 (*ṛṣīṇāṃ sambandhinam adhvaryur hotāraṃ vṛṇīte*).... It is true, however, that, as the formula (he chooses the ancestral) became stereotyped, its exact import became forgotten, and *ārṣeya* was generally taken as a neuter, either adjective (viz. "*nāmadheyam*", "*apatyam*") or noun (ancestral lineage).' This is merely an adaptation of Weber's theory. Like Weber, Eggeling assumes without demonstration that *ārṣeya* can originally have of itself the meaning 'ancestral', whereas such a connotation can only have become attached to the word as the result of an elliptical usage of the type which Eggeling himself thought to be a later development.

Keith,[2] in translating *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte* in TS 2. 5. 8, cautiously writes: 'He chooses one of a Ṛṣi's family', and notes that, while in the present passage the word is probably masculine, it is clearly neuter in KB 3. 2, 'descent' of the sacrificer. It is not quite clear whether Keith meant the 'one of a Ṛṣi's family' to be Agni, or one of the pravara names. It seems most likely, as we shall see, that the original passage meant the former, in which case the present translation slightly obscures the matter. It is, however, refreshing to find the word treated here on its own merits, without allowing the arguments of the commentators to obscure the root-meaning.

Karandikar[3] starts his discussion of the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte* from the only occurrence of the word *ārṣeya* in the Ṛgveda:[4]

> *abhī́ no arṣa divyā́ vásūny*
> *abhí víśvā pā́rthivā pūyámānaḥ:*
> *abhí yéna dráviṇam aśnávāmā-*
> *'bhy ārṣeyáṃ jamadagnivát naḥ.*

[1] *SBE* XII, p. 115.

[2] *HOS* XVIII, p. 198. By an oversight he says: 'Agni is invoked as the ancestral Hotṛ, usually with three or four ancestral names', whereas four is excluded by the Sūtra rules.

[3] *Hindu Exogamy*, pp. 52 ff. Karandikar's book, though containing a fair collection of material on gotra and pravara, shows such ineptitude in the handling of that material that his theories would hardly be worth refutation, were it not that several highly reputable scholars are quoted as having a high opinion of the work.

[4] ix. 97. 51.





He translates the third and fourth pādas: 'Send us down the Ārṣeya like that of Jamadagni by which we shall be able to enjoy (*sic*) wealth.' This shows, he believes, that *ārṣeya* is a neuter noun, and he takes it to mean '*ṛṣi*'s glory'. He does not explain how he arrives at the gender of the word, but since he translates *vasu* as a noun, 'wealth', he presumably took *jamadagnivat* as a neuter adjective agreeing with *ārṣeya*, a proceeding which is quite indefensible grammatically. There is, however, no difficulty in taking the word in its perfectly normal sense as an adjective, 'connected with a *ṛṣi*'. 'While thou art purifying, send to us good things of heaven, all good things of earth. In particular, that good thing (*vasu*) whereby we may obtain wealth, namely, a *ṛṣi*'s one, as in the case of Jamadagni'.

In the Atharva-veda, Karandikar thought that *ārṣeya*, from meaning '*ṛṣi*'s glory', came to mean 'one possessed of that glory'. He adduces no evidence for this meaning, however, and all the Atharva occurrences of the word can be quite simply translated 'descendant of a *ṛṣi*'. In xi. 1. 26 *ṛṣīn ārṣeyān* is exactly parallel to the passages noted above for the election of priests, and means '*ṛṣis* who are sons of *ṛṣis*'. Even with Karandikar's own translation, however, it is difficult to see the relevance of these passages to his argument.

In brief, then, Karandikar's view is that the origin of the Brāhmaṇa phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte* lay in the choosing by the hymn-composers of an Ārṣeya, a '*ṛṣi*'s glory', resembling that of some great sage of the past. Thereafter, it would seem (though his exposition is not altogether clear), as a result of the practice of choosing Agni as Hotṛ, using as a comparison the names of ancient *ṛṣis*, for which he quotes seven passages from the Ṛgveda, the latter practice was endowed with the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte*. The sole reason, however, for supposing the existence of a custom of 'choosing a *ṛṣi*'s glory' lies in the Ṛgveda passage quoted, and, as we have seen, that passage can be more plausibly translated otherwise. It is also worth noting that the word *ārṣeya* does not belong to the ritual itself, but is purely a concise formula of the Brāhmaṇas to denote the recitation of the pravara. In any case, it is difficult to see the relevance of this theory since Karandikar admits that already in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* the meaning is: 'He chooses Agni, belonging to the *ṛṣis*, Hotṛ.' Finally he states, without adducing any further evidence, that as the original meaning was entirely overlooked, *ārṣeya* came to mean a *ṛṣi* possessed of great powers, *ārṣeya* powers, believing that in this way he accounts for the plural forms of the Sūtras.

All this is very confused, and moreover superfluous. Even if *ārṣeya* did mean '*ṛṣi*'s glory' in Ṛgvedic times, nothing is gained thereby towards the elucidation of the pravaras. Karandikar's motive emerges at the end of his discussion: 'Just as in old times the poet sought the Ārṣeya of any particular *ṛṣi* he liked, so in choosing Agni for Hotṛ, the sacrificer had the fullest liberty to choose whatever ancient *ṛṣis* he liked, for his standard of comparison. The very word *pravara* from *vṛ* to select, is suggestive of the free choice left to the sacrificer.'

In this fashion Karandikar supports his theory that in early Brāhmaṇa times a man was entirely at liberty to decide for himself to which pravara-group he was to belong, and that these groups were in origin groups of formal discipleship and not of kinship. The arguments which he uses to support this theory are none of them conclusive, and the present one, based on his view of the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte*, is, as we have seen, completely wanting in cogency. Certainly the texts which deal directly with the pravaras give no grounds at all for the view that it was ever a matter for complete freedom of choice.

The earliest occurrence in the texts preserved to us of the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte* is in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*,[1] and it is worth stressing the point that there it occurs in its context perfectly naturally, and has certainly not the appearance of a stereotyped formula. One is therefore led to suspect that the later texts, where the phrase is unquestionably a formula, are in all probability directly or indirectly dependent on the *Taittirīya*, or more probably, on a common Yajus tradition,[2] for their wording of the matter. The *Taittirīya* passage in question reads:

*trayo vā agnayo havyavāhano devānāṃ kavyavāhanaḥ pitṛṇāṃ saharakṣā asurāṇāṃ, ta etarhy ā śaṃsante, māṃ variṣyate māṃ iti; vṛṇīdhvaṃ havyavāhanam ity āha; ya eva devānāṃ taṃ vṛṇīta; ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte bandhor eva naity atho saṃtatyai; parastād arvāco vṛṇīte, tasmāt parastād arvāñco manuṣyān pitaro 'nu pra pipate.*

'There are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Rakṣas-companion of the Asuras. These here recite, "Me will he choose, me"; "Choose ye the Oblation-carrier", he says;[3] he thus chooses the one who is of the gods. He chooses him as being connected with the *ṛṣis*. He does not indeed depart from the relationship (with the *ṛṣis*), and so it conduces to continuity. He chooses from the remote end the nearer ones; therefore the Fathers, from the remote end the nearer ones, drink in order before men.' The formula *agne mahāṁ asi brāhmaṇa bhārata* is explained immediately after this in the Saṃhitā, while the Brāhmaṇa[4] gives the normal order, inserting the words *asāv asau* to denote the proper names of the pravara.

The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*[5] likewise adheres to the order of the ritual, and after explaining the words *brāhmaṇa bhārata*, continues:

*athārṣeyaṃ pravṛṇīte, ṛṣibhyaś caivainam etad devebhyaś ca nivedayaty, ayaṃ mahāvīryo yo yajñaṃ prāpad iti, tasmād ārṣeyaṃ pravṛṇīte. parastād arvāk pravṛṇīte, parastād dhy arvācyaḥ prajāḥ prajāyante, jyāyasaspataya u caivaitaṃ nihnuta, idaṃ hi pitevāgre 'tha putro 'tha pautras, tasmāt parastād arvāk pravṛṇīte.*

[1] 2. 5. 8.

[2] There is, however, nothing parallel in the extant Saṃhitās of the other Śākhās of the Black Yajus.

[3] I.e. in the last of the Sāmidhenī-verses, which immediately precede the pravara.

[4] TB 3. 5. 3.

[5] 1. 4. 2. 3.





The important point which seems to have been overlooked hitherto, is that the Śatapatha here, as frequently elsewhere, tacitly criticises and emends the version of the Black Yajus. In view of the relationship between the two divisions of the Yajur-veda, there is usually a prima facie probability that such variations are significant. The most important here is the use of *pravṛṇīte* for the simple verb of the *Taittirīya* version. The clue to this variant would seem to lie in the frequent stylistic habit of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of denoting the performance of an action by means of a verb cognate with the name of the action, instead of by a noun plus a verb of performing.[1] Thus *pravṛṇīte* would mean here, 'he recites the pravara', *ārṣeyaṃ* being an adjective qualifying the noun *pravara* implied by the verb. Thus, the Vājasaneyins would seem to have taken the phrase as a formula, and considering it as inadequate and obscure—as, taken from its context in the *Taittirīya*, it undoubtedly is—produced an emended version of their own. This interpretation of *pravṛṇīte* is strengthened by the use of the adverbial *arvāk* in place of the accusative *arvācaḥ* of the *Taittirīya*,[2] since in the sense 'he recites the pravara' the verb would naturally be intransitive. The whole passage then means: 'Next he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names; he thus makes him known in this matter to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, with the thought, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice". It is for this reason that he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names. He recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards, for from the remote end hitherwards a lineage is propagated. He thus also conceals him from (the wrath of) the Lord of the Elder One.[3] For here (among men) the father comes first, then the son, then the grandson. Therefore he recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards.'

We now come to the Sūtra passages. As we have seen above, the method adopted by Weber and Eggeling, of explaining these passages on their own merits, and then referring back from them to the Brāhmaṇas, is clearly to attack the problem from the wrong end. What seems to have happened is that the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ pravṛṇīte*, from meaning 'he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names', came to be understood to mean 'he recites (or chooses) the *ārṣeya*', i.e. the word *ārṣeya* came to be used synonymously with *pravara*. Such a development is an entirely natural one, and it is of course perfectly legitimate to assume that it was already taking place before the final redaction of the Śatapatha, since the later part of the Aitareya[4] and the Kauṣītaki[5] already use it in this sense. The Sūtras merely take this process one step further, and apply the word to the members

[1] E.g. *saṃnayati*, 'he performs the Sāṃnāyya ceremony', *ādadhāti*, 'he performs the Agnyādhāna', *anvāha*, 'he recites the *anuvākyā*-verse', *yajati*, 'he recites the *yājyā*-verse', etc.

[2] But the apparent change of object from the fire to the seers is certainly awkward in the *Taittirīya* version. The commentators are doubtless right in treating it as an ellipsis: 'He chooses it (reciting the names), from the remote end to the nearer ones.'

[3] This very shadowy figure appears to be mentioned nowhere else in the literature. The sense 'propitiate' for *nihnute*, accepted by Eggeling, is probably a later development. Cf. p. 17.

[4] AB 7. 25.

[5] KB 3. 2.

of the pravara themselves. Thus Āśvalāyana, *yajamānasyārṣeyān pravṛṇīte*, 'he recites the members of the pravara apposite to the sacrificer'.[1] Alternately, it is applied to the names, as in Kātyāyana[2] and Śāṅkhāyana,[3] *yajamānasya trīṇy ārṣeyāṇy abhivyāhṛtya*, 'citing three pravara-names of the sacrificer'. Āpastamba and Bhāradvāja employ the interesting phrase *yathārṣeyo yajamānaḥ*, 'according as the sacrificer is provided with *ārṣeyas*, pravara-seers'.[4]

In short, then, the whole history of the phrase can be easily and naturally explained without having recourse to Karandikar's '*ṛṣi*'s glory', and with this the chief argument for his view, that originally the sacrificer had the fullest liberty in the choice of pravara, must be considered completely unsatisfactory.

One further point of importance emerges from this discussion. The verb *vṛṇīte* originally applies to Agni, not to the pravara-*ṛṣis*, and the fact that the Sūtras use it with the *ṛṣi*-names as its direct object must not be taken to show that the *ṛṣis* were the subject of choice. Even in medieval times, the author of the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* found it necessary to controvert this view.[5] The stock explanation, namely, the ellipsis of some such word as *saṃkīrtya*, fits quite well in the passage from the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, but seems somewhat dubious in the case of the Sūtras. Rather, what has happened there is that the verb *vṛṇīte* has become, so to speak, entangled in the technical phraseology of the matter, and is used automatically by the authors of the Sūtras, without any insistence on its strict meaning being intended. It is perhaps worth noting that in any case the conception of freedom of choice in such ritual matters is altogether foreign to the spirit of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. It is true, indeed, that the texts in numerous instances allow alternatives in insignificant matters of detail, or else mention an alternative practice merely in order to disapprove of it. But in matters of real significance, there is seldom any freedom of choice left to the individual priest. Such frequent phrases as 'We choose Agni as our messenger', going back to Ṛgvedic times, should not mislead us. The choice is purely a fictitious one, and the possibility of choosing a different deity on such an occasion does not seem to have presented itself. The predominating idea of the verb *vṛṇīte* is in fact often better brought out by some such rendering as 'take to oneself' rather than 'choose'. Even in the infrequent cases where the 'choice' is underlined, as for example in the Praiṣa at the end of the Sautrāmaṇī rite:[6] '(O Agni), *ṛṣi*, son of a *ṛṣi*, grandson of *ṛṣis* (*ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣīṇāṃ napāt*), this sacrificer has chosen thee to-day out of many who came here together (*bahubhya ā saṃgatebhyaḥ*)', the qualification is added more with a view to increasing the praise of the deity, and it is clear that the ritual did not admit of an alternative.

[1] ĀŚS 1. 3. 1.
[2] KŚS 3. 25ff.
[3] ŚŚS 1. 4. 15.
[4] ĀpŚS 2. 16. 5; BhārŚS 2. 15.
[5] See below, pp. 63ff.
[6] MS 4. 13. 9; VS 21. 61, 28. 23, 28. 46; TB 2. 6. 15, 3. 6. 15.





## THE PRAVARAS IN THE PRE-SŪTRA PERIOD

We have already seen that Chentsal Rao considered that the purpose of the pravaras was 'to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing'. Similarly, Max Müller writes: 'When therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors.'[1] This is certainly the tradition of the medieval commentators,[2] and it is an easy and straightforward rational interpretation of the pravara-ceremony. A comparison of the parallel passages in the earlier Vedic literature, however, would seem to show that this is at best a part of the explanation, and not the most important part. It is important to remember that, whatever religious and moral concepts may be traced in the Vedic sacrifices, the actual mechanism of the sacrificial ceremonial is predominatingly magical rather than religious in character. Results are normally obtained, not so much by winning the favour of the gods through prayer, as by the automatic certainty of acts which to the performers were causal. When, for example, the wrath of a deity is to be avoided, it is frequently a skilful use of word-magic which achieves this end. One verb used by the Brāhmaṇas to describe this process is *nihnute*,[3] usually translated as 'propitiate'. The root meaning of the word, however, 'conceal', in most cases conveys the meaning of the rite more clearly. Thus, for example, in the passage dealing with the pravaras which we have quoted above from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, it is stated that by reciting the names from the remote end, he 'propitiates' the Lord of the Elder One. In other words, he conceals from this deity the modernity of the sacrificer, by reciting the names of ancient and venerable *ṛṣis*, starting from the oldest and most venerable.

Word-magic of this kind is so frequent and regular a feature of the sacrificial ritual that it is reasonable to look for something of the sort in the pravaras. The *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, indeed, supplies us with a clue to the interpretation: 'He recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice".' The essential point about the pravara, at all events in its origin, is apparently the magic power of the names recited. The line of reasoning would seem to be: 'These famous ancient seers, Bhṛgu, Cyavana, and the rest, were very powerful, they had obtained the sacrifice; therefore their names must be magically powerful towards performing a really effective sacrifice. If then we associate Agni, the sacrificial fire, with them (*Bhārgava, Cyāvana,* etc.), he, Agni, cannot fail to do his part of the sacrifice effectively. He has in fact no alternative, being compelled to it by the magic potency of the names.'

[1] *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 386.
[2] Cf. Puruṣottama, below, p. 63.
[3] On the use of this verb in the Brāhmaṇas, see my article in *Siddha-Bhāratī, Siddheśvar Varma Memorial Volume* (Hoshiarpur, 1950), pp. 126ff.

The same considerations are fundamental in the second pravara, that recited by the Adhvaryu. The difference between the two pravaras, the *vṛddhied* form of the Hotṛ's and the suffix *-vat* of the Adhvaryu's, is worth noting. The essential thing is really to invite the Hotṛ to function. Now it is important in doing this to avoid the possible jealousy of Agni, who after all was known from of old as Hotṛ of the gods. Therefore, first of all the human Hotṛ priest invites Agni as Hotṛ, to avoid this jealousy. As the Śatapatha says:[1] 'By first naming Agni he propitiates Agni', i.e. he conceals from Agni the fact that a human being is acting as Hotṛ. Afterwards the real invitation to the human Hotṛ is recited by the Adhvaryu. But even here caution must be observed. The words, in reality addressed to the human Hotṛ, are framed grammatically to apply to Agni, although in strict logic Agni does not act 'as Bhṛgu did', but rather was used by Bhṛgu in his sacrifice. Thus he is appositely addressed as 'Bhārgava' in the first pravara. In the second pravara, on the contrary, the important thing is not that the human Hotṛ should be 'connected with Bhṛgu', but that he should act like him. The act is itself all-important. The words emphasise that 'this present sacrificial act is precisely the same as Bhṛgu performed'. And, of course, in magical thought, to say solemnly that it is identical is in fact to make it identical, and thus equally successful.

This explanation of the significance of the pravaras may perhaps appear laboured and over-elaborated, as compared with the simple and obvious traditional view that they serve merely to establish the worth or fitness of the sacrificer, as a descendant of the *ṛṣis* named in the pravara. It is therefore desirable to consider parallel cases in the literature, by way of corroboration.

In the ritual of the piling of the fire-altar (*agnicayana*), mantra after mantra proclaims with tedious repetition that the acts are being done *angirasvat*, 'in the manner of Angiras'.[2] Angiras is indeed a common name or epithet of Agni in the Ṛgveda—Agni is also addressed as such in the mantras of the *cayana*—and it is more than probable that it was from this epithet that the important family of the Āngirasas, so closely connected in tradition with the fire-ritual, derived their name. As is natural, however, the conception of an eponymous seer, distinct from Agni, developed early, and it is this Angiras whose name, as that of a famous and successful worshipper of Agni, is here invoked as magical guarantor of the various acts of the rite.

The *Atharva-veda*, as a repository of magical formulae, contains some excellent examples of this type of usage, albeit on a more popular level of thought. Thus, for example, 2. 32. 3 (=5. 23. 10):

> *atriväd vaḥ krimayo hanmi kaṇvaváj jamadagnivát;*
> *agástyasya bráhmaṇā sáṃ pinaṣmy aháṃ krímīn.*

'As Atri did, I kill you, worms, as Kaṇva did, as Jamadagni did; with the magic rite of Agastya, I too grind the worms to powder.'

[1] ŚB 1. 5. 1. 15.

[2] TS 4; MS 2; VS 11, etc.





Here also it would seem that the venerable names are magically effective towards producing the desired result. Similarly, Agni is asked to burn down the senseless, truth-harming man, as Atharvan did (*atharvavát*).[1]

The use of *ṛṣi*-names in this magical fashion is even more clearly seen in the numerous cases where the elliptical form in *-vat* is not employed. Thus 6. 137. 1:

> *yā́ṃ jamádagnir ákhanad*
> *duhitré keśavárdhanīm;*
> *tā́ṃ vītáhavya ā́bharad*
> *ásitasya gṛhébhyaḥ.*[2]

'The plant which Jamadagni dug to make his daughter's hair grow, Vītahavya brought from the dwellings of Asita.'

It is clearly an advantage to use the same plant as was used on that occasion, guaranteed as it is by three very notable *ṛṣis*. Similarly, in AV 6. 52. 3, mention is made of a 'famous life-giving plant of Kaṇva'. Again, in 4. 37. 1, a magic herb is addressed:

> *tváyā pū́rvam átharvāṇo*
> *jaghnū́ rákṣāṃsy oṣadhe:*
> *tváyā jaghāna kaśyápas*
> *tváyā káṇvo agástyaḥ.*[3]

'With thee, O herb, the Atharvans of old struck down the Rakṣases; with thee Kaśyapa struck, with thee Kaṇva and Agastya.'

Still more explicit is AV 1. 14. 4, where a spell to ensure the spinsterhood of an enemy is performed 'with the magic rite of Asita, of Kaśyapa, and of Gaya'.

So, too, we may cite AV 2. 33. 7, where a disease is conjured away by means of 'Kaśyapa's ejector' (*kaśyapasya vībarheṇa*); 6. 40. 1: 'May we have freedom from danger by means of the oblation of the seven *ṛṣis*', i.e. an oblation such as these offered (*sapta-ṛṣīṇā́ṃ ca haviṣābhayaṃ no astu*); 3. 9. 2, where a magic rite, whose nature is not clear from the context, is supported by the claim: 'Thus it was done by Manu' (*táthā tán mánunā kṛtám*). With this last example should no doubt be taken RV 2. 10. 6—*tvā́dūtāso manuvád vadema*: 'With thee as messenger may we speak as Manu did.'[4]

As might be expected from the sacerdotal nature of its hymns, the examples of this type of usage from the Ṛgveda are more nearly related in form to the ritual pravara. Perhaps the most frequent name to be so employed is that of Angiras

[1] AV 8. 3. 21 = RV 10. 87. 12.

[2] For an interesting parallel compare HirGS 1. 11. 4.

[3] Whitney compares A. Kuhn in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XIII, p. 118, which see for Germanic parallels.

[4] Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 301, translates 'we should speak like men (= as men should speak: properly, something that belongs to men)'.

(*angirasvát*), as in the Agnicayana: see for example RV 1. 62. 1; 1. 78. 3; 2. 17. 1; 3. 31. 19; 6. 49. 11. Common also is *manuṣvát*, 1. 44. 11; 4. 37. 3; 5. 21. 1; 7. 2. 3; 8. 43. 27; 10. 70. 8. The fifth book offers a number of examples of *atrivát*, e.g. 5. 4. 9; 5. 7. 8; 5. 22. 1; 5. 51. 8–10; *jamadagnivát*, 9. 97. 51. Cases where several names are employed may be seen in 1. 31. 17, *manuṣvát, angirasvát, yayātivát*; 1. 45. 3, *priyamedhavát, atrivát, virūpavát, angirasvát*; 7. 96. 3, *jamadagnivát, vasiṣṭhavát*; 8. 40. 12, *mandhātṛvád, angirasvát* (and also *pitṛvát*—'as our fathers did'); 8. 43. 13, *bhṛguvát, manuṣvát, angirasvát*. In all these cases, the comparison with the ancients lends dignity and efficacy to the present actions.

Two noteworthy points arise out of these examples. First, the names employed in this type of formula are almost invariably names of *ṛṣis*, and in fact, *ṛṣis* who appear for the most part in the later pravaras (Yayāti, Priyamedha being exceptions from the Ṛgveda examples, Gaya and Atharvan from the *Atharva-veda*). Secondly, the examples quoted differ essentially from the pravaras in that they group together *ṛṣis* who in the later system were reckoned as the ancestors of distinct families. The nearest approach to the pravara type of usage is the use of *Atrivad* in the fifth book by members of the Atri-clan. Interesting is the fact that the majority of the RV instances occur in connection with Agni, and there can be no doubt that these are more nearly related to the pravaras than the Atharva-veda examples.

If, then, this type of usage is to be taken as the direct ancestor of the pravaras, the question obviously arises as to the validity of the tradition which considers the pravara-seers as ancestors of the sacrificer. Karandikar, somewhat illogically, has used examples from the RV to show that *at the pravara-ceremony* the choice of pravara-*ṛṣis* was originally an open one. This of course really begs the question of the existence of such a ceremony at the time of the RV. To rephrase the matter from a more historical standpoint, we may say that a number of the RV examples occur in situations which are prototypes of the pravara-ceremony. Now, it is true that the 'fitness of the sacrificer as a descendant of worthy ancestors' does not appear to be a primary motive in the pravara, and therefore *a priori* the pravara-names need not have been ancestors. Nevertheless, the nature of the pravaras themselves, ordered as they are according to family, clearly vindicates the tradition. Whether or not the *ṛṣis* named really were ancestors of the various families is of no importance: a large number of them in fact must be considered as purely mythical personages. The important point is that the families in question, at the time of the Sūtras, thought of them as ancestors; and there is no sufficient evidence that the situation was otherwise in earlier times. Karandikar's lengthy discussion to show that the *ṛṣis* named in a pravara do not necessarily stand in the relationship of father, son, and grandson, is thus quite beside the point. The use of ancestral names is not to establish the lineage of the sacrificer, but arises from the extremely personal





and family nature of the sacrificial fire. In this sense, it is true, the gotras are 'ritual corporations', but only in so far as any primitive clan or family regularly tends to form a ritual group. The clearest evidence against Karandikar's theory that at one time any Brahman could obtain entry to any gotra (the pravaras only gradually becoming stereotyped thereafter) is to be seen in the systematic arrangement of the pravaras. On Karandikar's view, it is statistically most improbable that such an ordering would have resulted. We should have found, for example, pravaras such as *Vāsiṣṭha, Bhārgava, Āgastya* or *Vaiśvāmitra, Āngirasa, Ātreya*; whereas in fact no pravara contains more than one name from among the eponyms of the major gotras.[1]

It remains to ask at what period the system of pravaras came into existence. The Brāhmaṇas certainly prescribe a pravara, with the phrase *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte*; but had this been our sole evidence, it would have been simply a conjecture that the family arrangement of the pravaras existed at that time. It would have been equally open to us to assume that no more was meant by the phrase than the Ṛgvedic examples already quoted might imply, viz. that any *ṛṣi*-names might be recited. It is therefore of interest that side by side with these examples there are two passages in the RV which clearly show that the system was already being evolved.

The first is 8. 102. (91.) 4:

*aurvabhṛguvác chúcim*
*apnavānavád ā́ huve;*
*agníṃ samudrávāsasam.*

'I summon the pure Agni, the sea-dweller, as Aurva and Bhṛgu did, as Apnavāna did.'

These three names occur in pravaras belonging to the Jāmadagnyas in later times; and it is clear that we have here, so to speak, a pravara in embryo. It is noteworthy that in this hymn also occur several passages distinctly parallel with the formulae of the pravara eeremony. These phrases are admittedly commonplace in a large number of Ṛgvedic hymns to Agni, but their occurrence here can scarcely be accidental. Thus, stanza 2, *sá na ī́ḷānayā sahá devā́ṁ agne duvasyúvā, cikíd vibhānav ā́ vaha* clearly foreshadows *devān yakṣad vidvāṃś cikitvān... ā ca vakṣat*. Even closer is stanza 16, *ā́ devā́n vakṣi yákṣi ca*. Moreover, stanzas 17 and 18 specifically name the Havyavah-fire, that is, the later Āhavanīya,[2] which is the one in question at the pravara-ceremony. Also, the

[1] The sole exception is the family of the Laugākṣis, whose pravara is 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṣṭha'. The tradition is that this family belongs to both gotras, as the result of adoption, and there is no evidence to make us doubt the tradition. The case of the Jātūkarṇyas is dubious, see below, p. 180. Pravaras cited in inscriptions normally agree with those of the Sūtra lists. A rare exception, such as that found in a copper-plate grant of *saṃvat* 1188 (*IndAnt* XIX, p. 252), where a certain Lāhada-śarman is given the astonishing pravara 'Garga, Aṃgiras, Viśvamitra (*sic*), Jamadagni, Vārhaspati', may lead one to suspect the authenticity of the owner's claim to Brahmanhood.

[2] See for example TS 2. 5. 8. 6–7.

occasion of the hymn is the kindling of the fire (stanza 22); and the pravara comes immediately after the Sāmidhenī verses in the ritual. The laying on of the kindling-sticks takes place with stanza 20; the butter-libation which accom- panies the pravaras seems to be referred to in stanza 21. It is not, of course, suggested that the material of the pravara-ceremony is drawn from this hymn or from similar phrases elsewhere in the Ṛgveda; rather, we are to see in a hymn such as this a prototype of the kindling ceremony of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra ritual. It is in fact from hymns of this type that the later stereotyped Sāmidhenīs are culled, and we must recognise here an early form of the pravara incorporated within the 'Sāmidhenī' hymn itself.

The other example is contained in the Khila of the RV known as the Subheṣaja hymn, from the name of its traditional seer. The second stanza of this hymn reads:

*dhruvám agnír no dūtó rodásī havyavā́ḍ*
*devā́m̐ ā́ vakṣad adhvaré*
*vípro dūtáḥ páriṣkṛto*
*yákṣaś ca yajñíyaḥ kavíḥ*
*apnavānavád aurvavád*
*bhṛguváj jamaḍagnivá[d....*[1]

'Truly Agni is our messenger, the roaring one (?), the oblation-bearer; may he bring hither the gods to the sacrifice, he the spirited one, the messenger decked around, the wizard, the sacrificial inspired one; as Apnavāna did, as Aurva did, as Bhṛgu did, as Jamadagni did.'

Here also it is noteworthy that the context shows the hymn to be used at a ceremony directly connected with the pravara ceremony. Thus we have, in the one stanza, *agnir no dūto* (compare *agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahe* in the Sāmidhenīs), *havyavāḍ, devām̐ ā vakṣad. Vipra* and *kavi* may be poetical variants of *vidvāṃś cikitvān*, and it is not impossible that *yakṣas* is intended as a play on the word *yakṣat*.

Scheftelowitz is no doubt right in assigning this hymn to the later of the RV Khilas, but it must nevertheless be comparatively old. Its citation by the *Bṛhaddevatā*, 5. 89, the RV *Prātiśākhya* §§ 947ff. and the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, 5. 23 gives us, it is true, no very certain information about its date. More important is the fact that its material is utilised by the Yajus-texts. That the latter were the borrowers is made probable by the reading:[2] *agniṃ* (VS *agner*) *jyotir nicāyya pṛthivyā adhy abharat*, which seems to be an attempt at improving the phrase in the first stanza of the present hymn: *agnir jyotir nicāyyaḥ pṛthivyām adhy ābhara*, since the unusual form *nicāyyaḥ* (visible), was no longer understood.

[1] RV Khila IV. 9. 2; Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des RV*, p. 124. The rest of the stanza is most unfortunately lost.

[2] TS 4. 1. 1; MS 2. 7. 1; VS 11. 11.





Also, as Scheftelowitz points out,[1] its position in the RV, coming at the end of an *anuvāka* after RV 10. 151, might indicate that it belongs to a time after the RV was already redacted in its present form.[2] Scheftelowitz conjectures that the next word after *jamadagnivat* should be *cyavanavat*, 'since these five *ṛṣis* are customarily named together'. It is worth pointing out, however, that the only references he gives are to the *pravarādhyāyas*. It seems in fact that apart from the two instances here noted there is no example forthcoming of such a grouping of names in earlier works.

In this hymn, then, we have evidence that, at a very early date, presumably when the Ṛgveda was virtually complete, but while the Yajur-veda was still largely fluid, there already existed a pravara almost identical with one of the later stereotyped pravaras of the Sūtras. The difference in the order of the names, however, is probably not without significance. Making all due allowance for the metre, it is difficult to believe that if the pravara-system had already become crystallised, the names would not have been given as in the later order. We should at least have expected the first two names to be *jamadagnivad aurvavat*. It seems most probable that we have here a glimpse of the formative period of the pravara-system.

It is noteworthy that in both these cases the pravara belongs to the Jāma-dagnya-Bhṛgus. This, together with the fact that this family is invariably placed first in the pravara-chapters of the Sūtras, would lead us to the view that it was among them that the use of the pravara in the kindling-ritual was first developed. This accords well with the fact that the Bhṛgus (and with them the Angirases, who follow them in the lists) are particularly associated in the tradition with the fire-ritual.[3]

It seems most probable, therefore, in view of this evidence, that the use of pravaras proper—i.e. names directly connected with the sacrificer's own clan, as distinct from the freer usage of the Ṛgveda, was gradually coming into use during the formative period of the Yajur-veda. There are several indications, however, that the form in which we know the system from the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts was not fully developed until some time later, possibly contem-poraneous with the earlier Brāhmaṇas. The most striking point is the regular use, among the Angirases, of the pravara form *angiro-vat*, while the regular mantra form is *angiras-vat*. The latter form is still preserved in the Agnicayana, and the medieval *Pravara-mañjarī* remarks that it was also the form used in the Sūtra of Laugākṣi. The other Sūtras, however, unanimously give *angirovat*, and this would seem to be a conscious archaising on the part of the Laugākṣi

[1] Op. cit. p. 4.

[2] This is of course not conclusive for the date of composition; there is, however, no reason to suppose that it is early, and the elaborate metrical structure of the hymn would also indicate a late date in the RV collection.

[3] See for example MS 4. 1. 8, RV 1. 58. 6; 1. 143. 4; 2. 42; 5. 11. 6; cf. also 4. 7. 1: 'Agni, whom Apnavāna and the Bhṛgus caused to shine'—frequently used in the later ritual.

School. Similarly, the frequent Vedic form is *manuṣvat* (though *manu-vat* also occurs); but in the so-called *Mānava-pravara* favoured by the Tāṇḍin School,[1] the form is invariably *manu-vat*. It is interesting to note that in the formulae immediately preceding the Adhvaryu's pravara, the word *manuṣ-vat* occurs. The wording of the ceremony which forms the framework to the pravara is a composite product, and was in all probability constructed from older material. Thus, for example, the change from the vocative *agne*, *brāhmaṇa*, *bhārata*, to the nominative of the Nivids *deveddho manviddhaḥ*, may indicate that these Nivids have been incorporated into the new ritual, and not composed for it. The full development of the pravaras which we see in the Sūtras need not have taken place till considerably after the standardisation of the old fire-kindling ceremony. But to account for the complexity of the system, and the remarkable agreement in essentials between Sūtras which may have been widely separated geographically, a space of several centuries must be assumed between the completion of the system and the composition of the Sūtras. It is in fact difficult to believe that such a system could have come into operation at a period when the Indo-Aryans had already spread over most of northern India; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the pravaras in the form in which we know them already existed during the Ṛgvedic period proper, although they do not appear in the higher Śrauta ritual of the hymns.

On the other hand, we have the definite tradition that the pravara-names are those of composers of Vedic hymns. It is of course clear enough that this tradition cannot be literally true, since such names as Bhṛgu, Angiras, and possibly the other eponymous *ṛṣis*, belong to remote legend. Nevertheless, the tradition cannot be altogether dismissed. It is true that the Anukramaṇīs do not contain all the names of the pravaras; but a fair proportion do occur in both sources, and to this extent the tradition is justified. Moreover, there are several pravara-names which in the Ṛgveda appear as historical personages, contemporary with some of its hymns, for example, Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Divodāsa. The system, therefore, cannot have been finally settled until, at the earliest, the very end of the Ṛgvedic period; and as far as we can tell on the available evidence, it may have been some considerable time later. On the whole it seems more likely that the two cases of Ṛgvedic 'pravaras' already cited are to be taken as signs of the beginnings of the system, rather than of the emergence in the literature of a system which was already complete.

It is reasonable, then, to hold that the pravara-system was evolved not later than the earlier Brāhmaṇa period; and that its beginnings very probably go back to the Ṛgveda, but if so, only to the time of its latest hymns.

Two further passages from the Atharva-veda may be cited to show that the system was already well advanced in its development at the time of its compilation. First, AV 18. 3. 15–16, in the middle of a funeral hymn, invokes the

[1] See below, pp. 74 and 201.





aid of Kaṇva, Kakṣīvant, Purumīḍha, Agastya, Śyāvāśva, Sobharī, Arcanānas, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja and Gotama. It is clear that these are called upon as the ancestors and guardians of the tribe, and it can scarcely be accidental that all of these names (except Sobharī and Purumīḍha) are either the eponyms of the later gotras and their subdivisions, or else pravara-names associated with these eponymous *ṛṣis*. A more extended list is given at AV 4. 29, where stanzas 3–6 call on Mitra and Varuṇa in the formula: 'Ye who help *X*, free us from distress.' The names are:

Stanza 3. Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha.
Stanza 4. Śyāvāśva, Vadhryaśva, (Purumīḍha,) Atri, (Vimada, Saptavadhri).
Stanza 5. Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, Viśvāmitra, Kutsa, Kakṣīvant, Kaṇva.
Stanza 6. (Medhātithi, Triśoka,) Uśanas Kāvya, Gotama, Mudgala.

Here the names bracketed have no place in the later system, but the very considerable preponderance of names which do occur in the pravara-lists makes it highly probable, taking into account the Ṛgvedic evidence already cited, that the enumeration is intended to summarise the whole collection of contemporary clans, by reference to their eponymous *ṛṣis*.

The word *gotra* itself appears several times in the Ṛgveda, but not in the sense of a clan or family. In all the occurrences it bears the etymological sense of 'cattle-stall' or some related meaning.[1] It remains uncertain whether *gotra* in the sense of 'clan' is derived from this word, through some such meaning as 'herd', or whether it was originally a distinct word. At all events, no satisfactory linguistic evidence has been adduced to show the word itself to belong to the Indo-European period. The only occurrence of the word in a hymn would seem to be AV 5. 21. 3, where the war-drum is addressed as *viśvagotryaḥ*, 'belonging to all the gotras'. Thus it would seem that at least by the end of the Mantra-period, the word *gotra* was coming to be applied to clans.

By the Brāhmaṇa period, the use of the word *gotra* had become reasonably frequent in the sense of 'clan'. Particularly interesting is MS 3. 8. 9, where, at the setting up of the sacrificial shed (*sadas*) during the Soma ritual, the roof of the shed is laid in place with the words *viśvajanasya chāyāsi*—'thou art the shade (protection) of all men'. The explanation is then added—*gotrā́d-gotrād dhí prasárpanti*. This has been taken to mean that the various gotras had different ritual usages.[2] There are indeed numerous cases where family differences were observed in the ritual; but the inference here seems to be unfounded. The natural interpretation is that the phrase is an explanation of 'all men' in the mantra—'for from every

[1] In the Khila-hymn after RV 10. 128 the correct reading is *goptreṣu*, 'cowherds', although *gotreṣu* is accepted by Whitney, AV trans. xix, 62. The parallel passages show clearly that the reference is to Vaiśyas, see AV xix, 62; TS 5. 7. 4. 6; MS 3. 4. 8; Scheftelowitz, *Apokryphen des RV*, p. 118.

[2] See P. V. Kane, *Proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Baroda* (1933), pp. 317f.; Fick in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *gotra*.

gotra they come forward'. The *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa* (18. 2. 12) prescribes a cup of *udumbara* wood as a sacrificial fee for a man belonging to one's own gotra (*sagotra*); and the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa* (25. 15) mentions a sagotra as one of the persons with whom a man may dwell after performing the Viśvajit sacrifice.

I have already discussed in an article in *JRAS* (1946), pp. 32ff.; (1947), pp. 76ff., the important question of the relation of the gotras to the so-called 'hymn-families' of the Ṛgveda; to which article the reader is accordingly referred.

## THE SYSTEM IN THE SŪTRA PERIOD

In addition to various incidental references to differences in sacrificial practice among the gotras, the ritual Sūtras have preserved among their appendices classified lists of Brahmanical families, which in fact form our chief source of information about the organisation of the clan-exogamous system. There is, however, little doubt that these lists were compiled originally for the guidance of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests, to enable them to recite the correct pravara in the course of the ritual, according to the family of the sacrificer. This origin is reflected in the fact that they are constantly referred to, in the manuscript colophons and elsewhere, as 'pravara-chapters' (*pravarakhaṇḍa, pravarādhyāya, pravarapraśna*) in contrast to the medieval tracts on the subject, which regularly bear titles such as *Gotrapravaranirṇaya* or simply *Gotra-nirṇaya*. It is therefore not surprising that there is no trace of such lists among the Sūtras of the Sāma-veda or the Atharva-veda.

Of the two Śrauta Sūtras of the Ṛgveda, we possess a *pravarādhyāya* only for that of Āśvalāyana. It is indeed highly probable, from the complete lack of references in the commentators and legal writers, that the Śānkhāyana School never possessed one.[1] The Āśvalāyana *pravarādhyāya* gives only an outline account of the system, naming only the chief subdivisions of the gotras (gaṇas), in most cases only the one family to a pravara. It is interesting to note that it proclaims its origin in a school of Hotṛ priests by giving throughout only the Hotṛ's pravara, whereas the Sūtras of the Yajur-veda regularly give the forms for both priests, for example, *āngirasa bārhaspatya bhāradvājeti hotā bharadvājavad bṛhaspativad angirovad ity adhvaryuḥ*.

Among the texts attached to the Yajur-veda, the *pravarādhyāya* of the Āpastamba School is very similar in structure to that of the Āśvalāyana. There

[1] Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, it is true, in his *Dattaka-candrikā*, ii. 36, quotes a passage with reference to the inheritance of 'men of two gotras' (*dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*), which he ascribes to the *Śānkhāyana-pravarādhyāya*; and later, iii. 9, quotes from a *pravarādhyāya* (with no name given) the same passage, with the addition of a few sentences at the beginning. The whole passage, however, occurs in the closing section of the *pravarādhyāyas* traditionally ascribed to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi, as well as in the India Office manuscript of the *Mānava-pravarādhyāya*. It seems very probable therefore that the ascription to Śānkhāyana is merely a mistake, possibly a manuscript error. In the same connection, the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*, iv. 5. 24, quotes approximately the same passage and ascribes it to Kātyāyana. See below, p. 213.





is, however, no reason for supposing a specially close connection between the two, as Garbe seems to have thought.[1] But there is a most striking agreement between all the texts in the ordering of the major gotras and the gaṇas within them. Thus, for example, in all the texts (except the Vaikhānasa) the Bhṛgus come first, followed by the three divisions of the Angirases: Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevala Angirases. Such variations as occur are not sufficient to support a theory that they are independent accounts, simply agreeing in so far as they reflect the social facts. It seems that the only possible explanation is that they are all descended from the same common original. This original may admittedly be one of the accounts preserved to us, but there is no clear trace of this in the texts, and on the whole it seems unlikely.

The Hiraṇyakeśi (Satyāṣāḍha) Śrauta Sūtra, as might be expected, gives a *pravarādhyāya* almost identical with that of Āpastamba. In a few cases, it gives some additional names, and occasionally shows a slightly different order in the gaṇas. As it appears in the edition (*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, no. 53, VIII, pp. 714ff.), it has suffered several lacunae, notably in the introductory section and the account of the Viśvāmitras, and in the complete omission of the Kevala Angirases. These, however, are presumably recent losses. Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, in his *Pravara-darpaṇa*, conscientiously notes the additions to Āpastamba; and the *Pravara-mañjarī*, though giving Āpastamba's version throughout, attributes the introductory section to Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha. Elsewhere, the *Pravara-mañjarī* regularly refers to *Āpastambādi*, a form of expression which may be taken to imply the inclusion of the Hiraṇyakeśi version.

The Baudhāyana account is much more detailed. For almost every gaṇa, or subdivision of the major gotras, it gives a long list of subfamilies who are all united as reciting the same pravara. Similar in structure is the account which Puruṣottama in the *Pravara-mañjarī* attributes to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi. In this account, however, while the major gotras and gaṇas agree for the most part, the individual subfamilies diverge widely from Baudhāyana. Another version of this list appears in the India Office manuscript of the Mānava account, together with the Bodleian White Yajur-veda *Pravara-pariśiṣṭa*.[2] The version preserved in the *Pravara-mañjarī* is the one which had earlier been utilised by the Matsya Purāṇa.

Finally, mention should be made of the Vaikhānasa list.[3] This is beyond all question particularly closely related to the Baudhāyana, and in all probability is directly copied from it. Like Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana, it does not give the extensive lists of subfamilies which appear in Baudhāyana; and the order of

[1] Introduction to vol. III of his edition of the *Āpast. Śrauta-sūtra*, p. xxvii.

[2] For a discussion of the interrelation and attribution of these texts, see below, pp. 49–50.

[3] India Office MSS. Keith 4684, 4685. See also K. Rangachari, *Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra* (Madras, 1930).

the major gotras has been rearranged to agree with the order given in Baudhāyana's verse:

*viśvāmitro jamadagnir bharadvājo 'tha gautamaḥ*
*atrir vasiṣṭhaḥ kaśyapa ity ete sapta ṛṣayaḥ;*

the Kevala Angirases being given after the Bharadvājas, and the Agastyas at the end. The most obvious sign of its relationship with Baudhāyana is in the major gotra of the Gautamas, in which Baudhāyana diverges rather widely in the gaṇa-names from the other lists: in this divergence it is perfectly copied by the Vaikhānasa. The sole point of interest in this otherwise derivative account is a seven-*ṛṣi* pravara, attributed to the Bhārgava-Jamadagnis—*Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Jāmadagnya, Vātsa, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Vaidala* (the last name being a mistake for Baida?). This is of course directly contrary to the regular Sūtra rule, which prohibits more than five *ṛṣi*-names, although it is said that seven- and even eleven-*ṛṣi* pravaras are found in south India at the present day.[1]

In all these texts, the most outstanding facts are, first, the close agreement of the major gotras and the gaṇas contained in these; and secondly, the wide divergence between the Baudhāyana list on the one hand and the remaining detailed accounts on the other, in the individual subfamilies within the gaṇas. This divergence, it is true, is rather over-emphasised by the corrupt state of the textual transmission. Nevertheless, although a large number of the names can be shown to be shared by these lists, there is no correspondence whatever between them in the order in which they occur, and they must be considered to be independent descriptions of a similar social context. What seems to have taken place is that at some early date, conceivably in the Brāhmaṇa period, a list of gotras and pravaras was prepared, more or less of the type of the Āśvalāyana list, that is, a skeleton account merely of the major gotras, the chief gaṇas, and the pravaras of each gaṇa. This list would no doubt be subject to slight modifications as the social structure altered in different ways in different parts of the country. From the slightly greater divergence of the Baudhāyana gaṇa-names, it is natural to suppose that the Baudhāyana School was geographically separated rather widely from the others. If this is so, it would be easily comprehensible that, when the fuller lists came to be composed, the authors simply gave a description of the composition of the gaṇas as seen in the society around them. In such a case, there would necessarily be a considerable number of subfamilies shared by the two localities; and the divergences between the Baudhāyana list and that represented by the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list would simply mirror regional differences in the development of the families themselves.

[1] Rangachari, op. cit. p. xxiv.





## THE APPLICATION OF THE PRAVARA-RULE

At the beginning of the Baudhāyana *pravarādhyāya*, the rule is enunciated:

*eka eva ṛṣir yāvat pravareṣv anuvartate, tāvat samānagotratvam anyatra bhṛgvangirasāṃ gaṇāt.*

'If even one *ṛṣi* recurs in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.'

In the case of these two, as is explained immediately before in the text, a majority of *ṛṣi*-names must be identical to prohibit intermarriage. It is clear that the composition of the gotras is not homogeneous. The traditional view as given by Baudhāyana is that the gotras are to be classified according to the eponymous *ṛṣis*—the seven *ṛṣis*, that is, 'Jamadagni, Gautama, Bhāradvāja, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha', with the additional gotra of Agastya.[1] On the other hand, the pravaras are classified under the names of Bhṛgu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, the Jamadagnis coming under the Bhṛgus, and both the Gautamas and Bhāradvājas under the Angirases. In general, however, the various gaṇas of the Jamadagnis all have three out of the five names of their pravaras in common: 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, and Āpnavāna'; while the Gautamas, with 'Āngirasa, Gautama, etc.', and the Bhāradvājas, with 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, etc.', in their pravaras, also form exogamous units. Thus, in spite of the pravaras being grouped under Bhṛgu and Angiras, the exogamous groups resulting from the pravara-rule are those of Jamadagni, Gautama, and Bhāradvāja. In addition to these, however, the Bhṛgu and Angiras groups include a number of additional gaṇas, who are regularly referred to in the medieval works as Kevala Bhṛgus and Kevala Angirases. The meaning of this epithet is not altogether obvious, but it probably means that these are *merely* Bhṛgus (and not also Jamadagnis) and *merely* Angirases (and not also Gautamas or Bhāradvājas). These do not have the necessary majority of *ṛṣi*-names in their pravara, the only common name in the pravaras being Bhārgava and Āngirasa, respectively. Thus, each of these individual gaṇas forms an exogamous unit by itself. The Kevala Bhṛgus are the Yaskas, Śunakas, Mitrayus, and Vainyas; the Kevala Angirases are the Saṃkṛtis, Haritas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Mudgalas and Viṣṇuvṛddhas. The Baudhāyana list reinforces its general pravara-rule by adding at the end of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bhāradvājas and each of the later gotras a specific prohibition of marriage within the gotra. In the case of the Kevala families, however, the mere omission of such a prohibition is the only indication that the gaṇas may intermarry. The other detailed accounts simply add at the end of each gaṇa 'these have no intermarriage'. It would

[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (Caland, § 145) remarks that the descendants of Agasti are outside the Kuru-Pañcālas. This passage gives the list (not, it is true, explicitly in connection with the gotras) as: 'Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Jamadagni, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, and Agastya'—thus omitting Kaśyapa.

therefore be logically possible to deduce that these texts did not in fact prohibit marriage between the gaṇas of the same major gotra; but there is absolutely no indication that such a usage ever existed. Counting each of the Kevala gaṇas as exogamous units, there are therefore eighteen such units in all.[1]

## TABLES OF PRAVARAS ACCORDING TO THE SŪTRAS

The accounts of the Sūtras are given in full in the second part of the present work; but it may be useful to give here a tabular view of the major gotras and their subdivisions. In the following tables, the Roman figures denote the exogamous units, the Arabic figures the gaṇas into which these units are divided. The second column gives the names of the gaṇas, the fourth column the pravaras. The third column indicates which of the Sūtras give the variants, where such occur. Where all the accounts agree, or where the variants are of no significance, the third column is left blank. The abbreviations used are:

| | |
|---|---|
| B | Baudhāyana. |
| Āp | Āpastamba. |
| Āśv | Āśvalāyana. |
| K | 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi'. |
| Mān. | Mānava. |
| W | Bodleian 'White Yajur-veda pariśiṣṭa'. |
| V | Vaikhānasa. |
| M | Matsya Purāṇa.[2] |

Brackets in this column denote that the source in question gives the pravara as an alternative.

[1] These eighteen groups are a commonplace of the medieval writers, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to find Chentsal Rao (*Gotra and Pravara*, p. xviii) claiming credit for the idea. It should be added that the position of the Kapis is doubtful; according to their pravara, they should probably be reckoned with the Kevala Angirases, thus making nineteen exogamous groups in all; but the medieval writers all give them as a gaṇa of the Bhāradvājas, using the elastic method of assuming that the name 'Bhāradvāja' is 'implicitly' present (*sattayānuvṛtti*) in their pravara, cf. Brough, *BSOS* XI, p. 308. In this connection it is noteworthy that the Mānava text starts a new chapter with the Kapis; the Baudh. MSS. are divided, Be, U giving them among the Bhāradvājas, and a second time among the Kevalas; all the others among the Kevalas alone. In the other detailed accounts the family comes between the two groups, and it remains uncertain to which group the authors meant to assign them.

[2] For a fuller account of these, see below, pp. 44 ff.





### I. *Bhṛgus* (*Jamadagnis*)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Vatsas<br>Jāmadagnya-Vatsas | B<br>Āp, Āśv, K, Mān., M | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya |
| | | (Āp) | Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya |
| 1 *a*. | Vatsas who are non-Jamadagnis<br>Vātsyas | Āśv.<br>K | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna |
| 2. | Bidas | B, Āśv, V | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida |
| | Bhārgava-Jamadagnis | V | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida (MSS. Vaidala) |
| | | (V) | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Jāmadagnya, Vātsa, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Vaidala[1] |
| | Jamadagni-Bidas | K | Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya (cf. no. 1) |
| | Jamadagnis | M, Mān. | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna[2] |
| 3. | Ārṣṭiṣeṇas | | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa[3] |
| | | (Āp) | Bhārgava, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa |
| 4. | Vaida-nimathitas | Mān. | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Vaida, Naimathita |
| 5. | Āvadhyāyana-Mauñjāyanas | Mān. | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āvadhya |
| 6. | Vatsa-purodhasas | Mān., W | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Vātsa, Paurodhasa |
| 7. | Veda-viśvajyotis | Mān., W | Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Veda, Viśvajyotiṣa |

[1] Probably the Vatsas and Bidas are here conflated.

[2] This pravara, though attached to the Bidas in these sources, presumably belongs to no. 1 *a*.

[3] The Vaikhānasa, according to Rangachari, op. cit. p. xxxv, has Aindra, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa for the last two names here; India Office MS. Keith 4684 has *drāṣṭiṣeṇa*, and *drāṣṭiṣeṇavat*, *dravat*. It seems likely that they are all corruptions of the normal pravara.

### *Kevala Bhṛgus*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| II. | Yaskas | | Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvetasa (Sāvedhasa) |
| III. | Mitrayus (Vādhryaśvas) | B, K, Mān., W, M, V<br>(Āśv)<br>Āp, Āśv, V | Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa<br>Bhārgava, Daivodāsa, Vādhryaśva<br>Vādhryaśva |
| IV. | Vainyas<br>[Śyaitas] | B, Āp, V, Mān., W<br>Āśv | Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha |
| V. | Śunakas (Gṛtsamadas) | B, V<br>Āp, K, Mān., Āśv (B, V)[1]<br>(K, Mān.) M<br>(W, Āśv) | Śaunaka<br>Gārtsamada<br>Bhārgava, Gārtsamada<br>Bhārgava, Śaunahotra, Gārtsamada |

[1] V gives two separate families, Śunakas, with the pravara Śaunaka, and Gārtsamadas, with the pravara Gārtsamada.

The Baudhāyana account (with the Vaikhānasa) diverges rather widely from the others in its treatment of the Gautamas, and it is convenient to give two separate tables:

### VI. *Gautamas* (Baudh. and Vaikh.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āyāsyas<br>Āngirasa-Gautamas | B<br>V | Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama |
| 2. | Śāradvatas | | Āngirasa, Gautama, Śāradvata |
| 3. | Kaumaṇḍas | | Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Kaumaṇḍa |
| 4. | Dīrghatamases | | Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Dairghatamasa |
| 5. | Auśanasas | | Āngirasa, Gautama, Auśanasa |
| 6. | Kareṇupālis | | Āngirasa, Gautama, Kāreṇupāla |
| 7. | Vāmadevas | | Āngirasa, Gautama, Vāmadeva |





### VI. *Gautamas* (remaining Sūtras)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Āyāsyas Gautamas | Āp, K, Mān., W<br>Āśv | Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama |
| 2. | Aucathyas | Āp, K, Mān. W, Āśv, M | Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama<br>Āngirasa, Aucathya, Auśija |
| 3. | Auśijas | Āp | Āngirasa, Auśija, Kākṣīvata |
| 4. | Bṛhadukthas | Āp, Āśv | Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Gautama |
| 5. | Vāmadevas | Āp<br>Āśv, Mān., W<br>K, M[1] | Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Bārhaduktha<br>Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Gautama<br>Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Vāmadeva |
| 6. | Dairghatamasas | K, Āśv | Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasa |
| 7. | Āyāsya-Auśija-Gautamas | K | Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Auśija, Gautama, Kākṣīvata |
| 8. | Rāhūgaṇas | Āśv | Āngirasa, Rāhūgaṇya, Gautama |
| 9. | Somarājakis | Āśv | Āngirasa, Saumarājya, Gautama |
| 10. | Kakṣīvants | Āśv, Mān., W | Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama, Auśija, Kākṣīvata |

[1] K, M, Mān. and W give this family among the Kevala Angirases.

### VII. *Bharadvājas*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bharadvājas | | Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja |
| 2. | Raukṣāyaṇas<br>Ṛkṣas | B, V<br>Āp, K, Mān., W, M<br>(Āp) | Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa<br>Āngirasa, Vāndana, Mātavacasa |
| 3. | Gargas | B, K, Mān., W, M<br>Āśv<br>V (B, Āśv, K, Mān., W, M)[1]<br>Āp<br>(Āp) | Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya, Gārgya<br>Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya<br>Āngirasa, Śainya, Gārgya<br>Āngirasa, Gārgya, Śainya<br>Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya |
| 4. | Kapis[2] | Āp, B, K, Mān., W, M, Āśv | Āngirasa, Āmahīyava, Aurukṣaya |
| 5. | Śunga-Śaiśiris[3] | Āp, Āśv, W<br>K, Mān., M | Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ātkīla<br>Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śaunga Śaiśira |

[1] K, Mān., W, M give the three-*ṛṣi* alternative to a distinct set of subfamilies, whose medieval designation was Gargabhedāḥ, i.e. 'separate Gargas'.
[2] The Kapis are included here by the medieval writers, but are probably, on the Sūtra evidence, to be reckoned as a gaṇa of the Kevala Angirases.
[3] These, as being *dvigotras*, avoid in marriage the Viśvāmitras, as well as the Bhāradvājas.

### *Kevala Angirases*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| VIII. | Haritas | | Āngirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva |
| | | (Āp, Āśv, K) | Māndhātra, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva |
| | Kutsas[1] | Āp | Āngirasa, Māndhātra, Kautsa |
| IX. | Kaṇvas | | Āngirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kāṇva |
| | | (Āśv) | Āngirasa, Ghaura, Kāṇva |
| X. | Rathītaras[2] | B, M, V | Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rathītara |
| | | (B) Āp, Mān. | Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva |
| | | (Āp) | Āṣṭādaṃṣṭra, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva |
| XI. | Viṣṇuvṛddhas | B, Āp, Mān., Āśv, V | Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyava |
| XII. | Mudgalas | | Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya |
| | | (Āp, Āśv) | Tārkṣya, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya |
| XIII. | Saṃkṛtis | B, K, Mān., W, M, V | Āngirasa, Sāṃkṛtya, Gaurivīta |
| | | Āśv | Āngirasa, Gaurivīta, Sāṃkṛtya |
| | | (Āśv) | Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāṃkṛtya |

[1] All the sources except Āp include the Kutsas among the Haritas.

[2] The pravaras of the Rathītaras and Viṣṇuvṛddhas have become confused in W, K, M; see below, pp. 128, 133.

### XIV. *Atris*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Atris | | Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva |
| 2. | Vādbhutakas | B, V | Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Vādbhutaka |
| 3. | Gaviṣṭhiras | B, Āp, V | Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gāviṣṭhira |
| | | K, Mān., M | Ātreya, Gāviṣṭhira, Paurvātitha |
| 3*a*. | Mudgalas (?) | B | Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātitha |
| | Purvātithis | V | |
| | Atithis | Āp | Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Ātitha |
| 4. | Putrikā-putras | K, M, W | Ātreya, Vāmarathya, Pautrika |
| | | Mān. | Ātreya [Gāviṣṭhira], Pautrika |





### XV. *Viśvāmitras*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Viśvāmitras (Kuśikas) | | Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala |
| 2. | Śraumata-Kāmakāyanas | | Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa |
| 3. | Katas | | Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla |
| 4. | Dhanaṃjayas | B, Āp, Āśv, K | Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānaṃjaya |
| | | M, W, Mān. | Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Āghamarṣaṇa[1] |
| | | (W) | Vaiśvāmitra, Kauśika, Āghamarṣaṇa[1] |
| 5. | Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas | B, Āp, Āśv, V, K | Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika |
| 6. | Pūraṇa-Vāri-dhāpayantas | Āśv | Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Pauraṇa |
| | | Rest | Vaiśvāmitra, Pauraṇa |
| 7. | Ajas | | Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya |
| 8. | Aṣṭaka-Lohitas | B, V | Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka, Lauhita |
| | | K, M | Vaiśvāmitra, Lauhita, Āṣṭaka |
| | | Mān., W, Āp | Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka |
| | | Āśv | Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Āṣṭaka |
| 9. | Raukṣakas | B, V | Vaiśvāmitra, Raukṣaka, Raiṇava |
| | Reṇus (Raiṇavas) | Rest | Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Raiṇava |
| 9*a*. | [Corrupt] | W | Vaiśvāmitra, kathaka, kāthaka |
| | | Mān. | Vaiśvāmitra, kāthaka, kāthyaka[2] |
| 10. | Āśmarathyas | K, M, Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Āśmarathya, Vādhūla |
| 11. | Indra-kauśikas | B, V | Vaiśvāmitra, Aindra, Kauśika |
| 12. | Rauhiṇas | Āśv | Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Rauhiṇa |
| 13. | Śālankāyanas | Āśv | Vaiśvāmitra, Śālankāyana, Kauśika |
| 14. | Hiraṇyaretases | Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Hairaṇyaretasa[3] |
| 15. | Suvarṇaretases | Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Sauvarṇaretasa |
| 16. | Kapotaretases | Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Kapotaretasa |
| 17. | Ghṛta-kauśikas | Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Ghārtakauśika |
| 18. | Sāhula-Māhulas | Mān., W | Vaiśvāmitra, Sāhula, Māhula |
| 19. | Śāṭhara-Māṭharas | Mān. | Vaiśvāmitra, Śāṭhara, Māṭhara |

[1] These have probably arisen through a lacuna in the text.

[2] These pravaras are, however, given by Mān., W, to the same set of subfamilies as are called Raiṇavas by K, etc.

[3] In nos. 14–17, Mān. contrives to obtain a three-*ṛṣi* pravara by separating the compound name, e.g. (in the Adhvaryu's pravara) *retasavad dhiraṇyavad viśvāmitravat.*

## XVI. *Kaśyapas*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Nidhruva-Kaśyapas | | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva |
| 1 *a*. | Kaśyapas | Āśv | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita |
| 2. | Rebhas | | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha |
| 3. | Śaṇḍilas | B, V<br>(B, V)[1]<br>(B, V)<br>Āśv (B, K, Mān., W, V)<br>(V)<br>Āp<br>(Āp)<br>M, K, Mān.<br>(Āśv, V) | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāṇḍila<br>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Daivala<br>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita<br>Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala<br><br>Śāṇḍila, Āvatsāra, Kāśyapa<br>Daivala, Āsita<br>Kāśyapa, Daivala, Āsita<br>Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala |
| 4. | Laugākṣis (Laukākṣis)[2] | B, K, Mān., M, V<br>(B)<br>W | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṣṭha<br><br>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita<br>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śārastamba |
| 5. | Śānkhamitras[3] | W | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śānkhamitra |

[1] V strangely inverts the order of this as well as of the following alternative. Moreover, this source alone (but almost certainly as the result of scribal emendation) gives only the pravara 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāṇḍila' to the Śāṇḍilas, attributing all the others to the Devalas.
[2] As *dvigotras*, these avoid marriage with the Vasiṣṭhas also.
[3] Included with the Rebhas by K, M.





## XVII. *Vasiṣṭhas*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Vasiṣṭhas | | Vāsiṣṭha |
| 2. | Kuṇḍinas | | Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya |
| 3. | Upamanyus | B<br>V<br>K, Mān., W, Āśv, M | Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya[1]<br>Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Aupamanyava[2]<br>Vāsiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya, Aindrapramada |
| 4. | Parāśaras[3] | | Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya |
| 5. | Jātūkarṇyas | K, M<br>W | Vāsiṣṭha, Ātri (?), Jātūkarṇya<br>Vāsiṣṭha, Ārtabodha, Pāṭava |
| 6. | Saṃkṛti-Pūtimāṣas[4] | Āp | Śāktya, Sāṃkṛtya, Gaurivīta |
| 7. | Lohiṇyas | W | Vāsiṣṭha, Lohiṇya, Phālgunya |

[1] Āp gives this pravara as an alternative to the Vasiṣṭhas, and has no mention of the Upamanyus.
[2] MS. *ropamanyapa*; but the appearance of the name at all is probably itself a corruption.
[3] The Parāśaras present one of the most tantalising problems connected with the pravara-lists. The thirty subdivisions of the family are divided into six groups of five names, and each group is designated by a colour, e.g. Nīla-Parāśaras, Kṛṣṇa-Parāśaras. The surprising fact, however, is that while the names within the groups agree in the various accounts, there is no semblance of agreement in the group designations. Thus, the group called Kṛṣṇa by Baudhāyana appears as Aruṇa in K. & L., as Nīla in Mān., and as Gaura in the Matsya Purāṇa. The commentators pass over this extraordinary situation in silence, and the whole matter remains mysterious. It is worth pointing out that the Parāśaras are the only family for which the Baudhāyana list corresponds really closely with the others, and that the text in this family alone is composed throughout of quasi-*ślokas* (admittedly there are a few traces of a metrical original elsewhere in the lists, e.g. the beginning of the Atri list in K. & L., etc.)
[4] See the other Sūtras among the Kevala Angirases.

## XVIII. *Agastyas*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Idhmavāhas | B (Āp), K, Mān., W, V, Āśv[1]<br>Āp | Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha<br><br>Āgastya |
| 2. | [Sāmbhavāhas] | B, V | Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Sāmbhavāha |
| 3. | Somavāhas | B, Āśv,[1] V | Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha |
| 4. | Yajñavāhas | B, V | Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Yājñavāha |
| 5. | Agastis | K, W, M | Āgastya, Māhendra, Māyobhuva |
| 6. | Paurṇamāsas | K, M | Āgastya, Paurṇamāsa, Pāraṇa |
| 7. | Himodakas[2] | Mān., W | Āgastya, Haimavarci, Haimodaka |

[1] Āśv gives both pravaras 1 and 3 simply as alternatives for the Agastis.
[2] For these, and several other late families peculiar to Mān. and W, see below, pp. 191–2. The text of all these additional families presents a most barbaric aspect, and, if it is not hopelessly corrupt, may be taken to reflect the non-indigenous nature of the Āgastya-gotra.

## THE *GOTRA-PRAVARA-MAÑJARĪ* AND OTHER MEDIEVAL SOURCES

Of the numerous extant medieval Sanskrit works on the gotra and pravara system, the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* is undoubtedly the most important. Not only is it the earliest of the nibandha-treatises on the subject, but it is also the most extensive, and gives a much clearer picture of the system than most of the others. Later writers quote it frequently, and its opinions are usually held by them to be authoritative. From our point of view, however, its chief interest lies in the ancient accounts which it quotes, one of which (that of 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi') is in fact not preserved in any independent source.

The present work may be said to serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, the translation of Puruṣottama's own discussion of the gotra-system presents a clear, if somewhat prolix, account of how it appeared to a medieval Hindu scholar. The translation follows in the main the text of the edition by P. Chentsal Rao, but a few points have been corrected on the evidence of the two manuscripts of the work belonging to the India Office Library.

The most important part of the work, however, lies in the pravara-lists quoted by Puruṣottama. For these lists it would have been quite profitless to reproduce the uncritical text of Chentsal Rao's edition, and I have therefore thought it preferable, in view of the uncertainties in the text, to collate such material as was available to me, with a view to restoring the lists as far as possible; and to this end I have added a full apparatus criticus. At the risk of somewhat overloading this with quite useless copyists' errors, I have thought it best to include numerous variants and blunders which might serve as a guide in tracing the affinities of any other accounts of the lists which might come to hand in the future. The plan here adopted, of giving the lists in their Sanskrit forms, while the rest of the text and the comment is translated, is doubtless a little incongruous; but since the form of the names, singular or plural, is of some importance, it was necessary to give them in the original forms; while, in the present state of Sanskrit studies, the labour spent on preparing an edition of Puruṣottama's own comments would have been quite out of proportion to the results achieved, since the text is already available in Chentsal Rao's edition. The prime object of the present work is, after all, to make available such material as is at present to be obtained for the study of the Brahmanical gotra-system in early times, and for this purpose, the *Pravara-mañjarī* offers a very suitable framework for the presentation of that material. Therefore, it seemed the most profitable course to give the lists here in the Sanskrit forms, thus giving, as it were, a first approximation to a restoration of the text, for the use of scholars who may in the future undertake the study of the Sūtra lists; while the remainder of the work will, it is hoped, provide a translation of some use to those who may wish





to investigate the main facts of the gotra organisation from the point of view of social history.

The *Pravara-mañjarī* quotes in full five different accounts, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, 'Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi', Āśvalāyana, and the Matsya Purāṇa. Of these, the first, second and fourth have been preserved in the manuscripts of their respective Sūtras, and have all been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Apart from points of quite minor importance, the text of the Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba accounts presents little that is doubtful, and these lists, which, compared with the other three, are mere skeletons, are given here simply for the sake of completeness and for ease of reference. The other three are admittedly approximately as well preserved as far as the main groups and pravaras are concerned, but giving as they do extensive lists of subfamilies within most of the groups, they have been much more exposed to copyists' errors, and have come down to us in an almost incredible state of corruption. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that they are ancillary works of Vedic schools, and, from the social point of view, of considerable importance for the regulation of the exogamous restrictions. In view of the peculiar nature of the texts, consisting as they do almost entirely of lists of family names, the task of preparing an edition is one of unusual complexity, and it must be admitted at the outset that the text here presented is still far from being a definitive edition of the lists. It is, rather, a preliminary critical survey of the material—a survey, however, which has made it possible to get rid of a very large number of manuscript errors, and which will, it is hoped, very considerably lighten the task of any future editor of these lists, should fresh material become available. Not the least important result of the present study of the lists is that a comparison of the different accounts has shown a much closer affinity between them than one would have suspected on a casual perusal. Caland, for example, remarked[1] that the list attributed by Puruṣottama to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi was not the same as that given by Weber among the *pariśiṣṭas* of the White Yajur-veda; but that the latter agreed closely with the Mānava text. The statement is in fact true, so far as it goes, but Caland does not seem to have noted how closely Puruṣottama's list actually does agree with the other two. Far more important, however, is the fact that the percentage of correspondence between Baudhāyana's list and the others is now seen to be considerably higher than the readings, say, of Chentsal Rao's edition of the *Pravara-mañjarī* would have indicated.

A great quantity of the material which can be applied towards a critical reconstruction of these lists has been preserved in various medieval treatises on the subject of gotra, and it will be convenient to consider these first. Among them, the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* of Puruṣottama-paṇḍita here translated is unique in several respects. It alone undertakes to quote verbatim the pravara

[1] *Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra*, III, p. ix.

sections of the Sūtra texts, while the later nibandhas merely quote the bare lists of names, often without referring them to their Sūtra origin. Moreover, a comparison with the other nibandha-accounts has shown conclusively that these are all directly or indirectly dependent on Puruṣottama's work. The collation of the others was undertaken in the first place in the hope that they would supply independent traditions which might prove useful in reconstructing the Sūtra texts. But although they have been found to possess no such independent value, yet the later works are still of considerable assistance in reconstituting the text which Puruṣottama had before him. The *Pravara-mañjarī* is therefore extremely valuable as a nodal point, so to speak, in the history of the textual transmission; it is in fact possible, with the aid of the other nibandhas, to reconstruct Puruṣottama's text of the lists with comparative certainty.[1]

About Puruṣottama himself we know nothing. There seem to be no grounds for considering him to be identical with any of the numerous other medieval writers of the same name, and the *Pravara-mañjarī* appears to be his only known work. For his epithet of Paṇḍita we are dependent on the colophons of his work. His date is quite uncertain; but it is possible to fix a later limit, since the *Pravara-mañjarī* is quoted in the *Nṛsiṃha-prasāda*, and must therefore be at least older than A.D. 1512.[2] There is little doubt, however, that it is considerably older. Unlike all the other works on the subject which I have been able to consult, the *Mañjarī* does not quote a single authority from the second millenium. Apart from Vedic authors, the only works referred to are Mnu, *Yājñavalkya*, the lost *Yama*, and 'another *smṛti*'. In addition to these, the explanation of the Sūtra texts is said to follow the views of the commentaries by Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin and Gurudevasvāmin on the Āpastamba Sūtra, that of Devasvāmin on Āśvalāyana, that of Mātṛdatta on Satyāṣāḍha, and a lost commentary on Baudhāyana called the *Amala-bhāṣya*. Unfortunately, none of these commentators can be dated with any certainty. P. V. Kane[3] has shown with fair probability that this Devasvāmin cannot be later than A.D. 1000; but there is no evidence available that he might not have lived several centuries earlier.[4] Therefore, on the evidence of quotations alone, it is not possible to date Puruṣottama to within a thousand years. We are thus left with only probabilities to guide us in fixing a date. The argument from silence is admittedly dangerous; but it seems highly probable that so loquacious an author would have quoted from the legal digests, as do the other medieval pravara-authors, had such digests existed for him to draw upon. It is possible that he knew the *Mitākṣarā*,[5] which, as a mere commentary on Yājñavalkya, he would not necessarily name;

[1] It should be mentioned, however, that in printing the lists below, the aim has been to come as close as possible to the Sūtra originals.

[2] P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 410.

[3] Op. cit. I, p. 281.

[4] Cf. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.* p. 79.

[5] He agrees with it in taking *ārṣa* as a noun in Yājñavalkya's compound *ārṣagotra*, which means, however, 'gotra as determined by *ṛṣi*' not 'gotra *and* pravara'. Such an argument is, of course, in no way conclusive.





and the earliest of the favourite authorities of the other writers, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara (composed between A.D. 1150 and 1200) is apparently unknown to him. Thus the *Pravara-mañjarī* may be conjecturally assigned to a date before the twelfth century. Such a supposition is, at worst, not directly contradicted by the evidence.

For the text of the *Mañjarī* itself, there are available:

Ed. The edition of the *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* of Puruṣottama-paṇḍita, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore, 1900, forming pp. 1–147 of a collection of Sanskrit works on gotra and pravara edited by P. Chentsal Rao, and entitled by him *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, 'The Principles of Pravara and Gotra'. This is a reprint in Nāgarī of the first edition in Telugu characters, and has been revised by the curator of the Government Oriental Library at Mysore.

P 1. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1777. A well-written Nāgarī manuscript of the *Pravara-mañjarī*. It is dated *saṃvat* 1866, i.e. A.D. 1810.

P 2. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1778. Another manuscript of the same work, in badly written Nāgarī. It is undated, but would appear to be somewhat older than P 1.

These three are all very mediocre, even as transmitters of Puruṣottama's already corrupted version of the lists. Ed., it is true, presents a fairly readable, though not always correct, text of Puruṣottama's own part of the work, that is to say, the introductory chapters, and the interspersed comments on the lists; but for the lists themselves it is quite clear that a fairly poor manuscript has been printed without any serious attempt at criticism. P 1 and P 2 agree in a number of lacunae, as well as in many individual readings, and are fairly close relatives, standing somewhat more distantly from Ed.

Next to the *Pravara-mañjarī*, the most explicit account of the lists is furnished by the *Pravara-darpaṇa* of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa. This is an early work, being prior to the same author's better-known *Nirṇaya-sindhu*. The latter, in dealing with gotra and pravara, gives merely an outline account, naming only the chief gaṇa-divisions with the pravaras; and it refers the reader to the author's fuller account in the *Pravara-darpaṇa*. Therefore, the latter must be dated before 1612,[1] but probably not more than two or three years earlier.

In this work, Kamalākara gives a refreshingly lucid and concise account of the system. It is clearly the product of a systematic mind, and shows a marked contrast in method as compared with Puruṣottama's diffuse treatment. Unlike the older author, Kamalākara does not claim to quote the Sūtra lists verbatim, but normally quotes for each family and subfamily first the names of the Baudhāyana list, then those names of the 'Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi' list which do not occur in Baudhāyana, and thirdly, those from the Matsya Purāṇa which do not occur in either of the two preceding. All the names are given in the singular,

[1] Cf. Kane, op. cit. I, p. 437.

and the edition of the work has further dispensed with euphonic combination between them, giving everywhere *-aḥ*, *-iḥ*, etc. At the end of the first list quoted from Baudhāyana, Kamalākara adds that, where the reading of the *Mañjarī* and that of his manuscript of the Sūtra differ as giving either more or fewer names, he has given the names from both sources.[1] This, however, applies only to Baudhāyana's text, and there is no indication from the readings of any such conflation for the others. The manuscript in question clearly belongs to the group we have designated *B* (see p. 44), but its readings appear only very occasionally, and Kamalākara has relied for the rest entirely on the *Mañjarī*. This conclusion is supported by the order in which the Sūtra authors are given (although in some families the Matsya names are quoted before the 'Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi' lists) as well as by numerous individual readings.

In addition, however, to the Sūtras quoted by the *Pravara-mañjarī*, Kamalākara has collated the Hiraṇyakeśi Sūtra's account, and has carefully noted those cases where the latter gives a few names more than Āpastamba (see above, p. 27).

The sources are:

D 1. The edition of the *Pravara-darpaṇa* forming pp. 148–88 of Chentsal Rao's compendium mentioned above.

D 2. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1780. This manuscript is the twin of P 1, being of the same paper and size. The handwriting, though of very similar style to P 1, is not identical, but there is no reason to doubt that the two have the same date and provenance (*c.* 1810 therefore).

Raghunātha-bhaṭṭa, who wrote a *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*, was the cousin of Kamalākara's father. His work was therefore presumably composed some years before the latter's,[2] though there is no conclusive evidence from the readings of the two texts that Kamalākara used his older relation's work as a source for the Sūtra lists. In style of presentation Raghunātha's work is less attractive. Like Kamalākara, he regularly gives for each subfamily first the list of Baudhāyana, then that of 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi', and thirdly that of the Matsya-Purāṇa, omitting from the later lists names which have occurred in the preceding. Unlike the *Pravara-darpaṇa*, however, he does not acknowledge the provenance of the names, giving no indication where the one Sūtra account ends and the next begins, nor even mentioning the fact that he owes his text of the lists to the *Pravara-mañjarī*. As in the case of the Darpaṇa, this indebtedness is amply proved by individual readings as well as by the order of the Sūtra lists. By preference, Raghunātha quotes the names in the plural, occasionally, however, giving a singular where the Sūtra text also has a singular. For this work, the only source available is:

R. India Office Library, Eggeling, no. 1781; an indifferently written Nāgarī manuscript of the *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya* by Raghunātha, dated *saṃvat* 1744,

[1] *yady api pravara-mañjarī-dhṛta-baudhāyana-sūtre ākare ca sūtre bhūyān nyūnādhikabhāvaḥ tathā 'py ubhayānusāreṇa vadāmaḥ.*

[2] Kane, op. cit. p. 726, gives A.D. 1545–1625 as the dates of Raghunātha's activity.





i.e. A.D. 1688. The colophon gives Raghunātha's father's name, Mādhava-bhaṭṭa, and his grandfather's, Rāmeśvara-bhaṭṭa (Rāmeśa), the latter of course being also the father of the famous Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, and the great-grandfather of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa.

Exceptionally closely related to Raghunātha's work is the *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya* of Jīvadeva (late seventeenth century). This is preserved for us embedded in the text of his better-known elder brother's *Saṃskāra-kaustubha*, and is introduced by Anantadeva with the words: *atha gotra-pravara-nirṇayo mad-anuja-jīvadeva-kṛta evāsminn avasare pradarśyate.* The text of the lists in this work is so closely similar to that of Raghunātha (even to the extent of agreeing at times in the precise wording of the few interspersed comments) that it must be taken to be a direct copy either of Raghunātha's work or of his immediate source. For this work, I have relied on the lithographed edition, which is dated 1783 *śake*, i.e. A.D. 1861. The readings of this edition, denoted in the apparatus criticus by 'Sk', have the value of a tolerably good manuscript of Jīvadeva's text.

It is convenient to mention here that these three texts, D, R and Sk, in addition to the lists taken from the *Pravara-mañjarī*, give at the end of most of the bigger families a supplementary list of names. In these, R and Sk normally agree together more closely than either does with D, but there is no question that the supplementary lists in all three come from one original source. It is interesting to observe that here D agrees more closely with R and Sk than in the lists from the *Mañjarī*, and it seems a feasible suggestion that Kamalākara had before him the source from which Raghunātha derived them. R and Sk attach these supplementary lists directly to the end of the Matsya list, giving no comment to show that a fresh list is starting. Kamalākara, however, would seem to have subjected them to a certain amount of editorial criticism, for in some places he omits a number of names, and in others groups them rather differently from the other two sources. He regularly introduces these supplements with such words as *kecid āhuḥ*, and frequently remarks of them, with commendable caution, that their source is questionable (*atra mūlaṃ mṛgyam*). Their origin is still quite obscure. It is possible that they represent yet another ancient Sūtra account; but the general impression given is that they are composed largely of variants of names already in the other lists, strung together in haphazard order. It is of interest that occasional names agreeing with the Mānava-text and the Bodleian 'White Yajur-veda *pariśiṣṭa*' occur here. Some source similar to these two must at all events have been available somewhere in the descent of D, R and Sk, since the latter quotes several families (e.g. Vedaviśvajyotis among the Bhṛgus) which neither the *Mañjarī* nor the other Sūtra lists know, but which do occur in the Mānava and Bodleian texts.

All the sources described up to this point contain information about all the lists. We shall mention the remaining sources in dealing with the separate Sūtra accounts.

## THE BAUDHĀYANA LIST

The Baudhāyana pravara-chapter is the only one of the fuller accounts which is at present available in published form, being included in Caland's edition of the Śrauta Sūtra in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. For convenience of reference, I have quoted Caland's manuscripts throughout. These are six in number, denoted by him by the sigla M, G, T, Bu, Be, and U. For a fuller account of these, see Caland, *BaudhŚrS.* III, p. ix. Caland also used P I, R (called by him Pm and Pn respectively) and Sk, already described above, as well as the Baudhāyana readings from the *Saṃskāra-ratnamāla* (Rm) by Gopīnātha-dīkṣita.

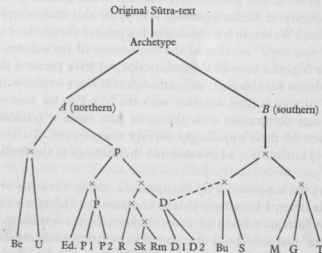
Caland distinguished the two groups of manuscripts, M, G, T and Bu on the one side, and Be, U and Pm on the other, adding that the other nibandhas appear to draw on Pm. This last conjecture can now be seen to be in fact true (although strictly one must restate the position more precisely: the other nibandhas are dependent on earlier manuscripts of the work of which Pm (our P I) is a late and not particularly good representative). These two groups I have denoted by the letters *A* (= Be, U + the *Pravara-mañjarī* and its descendants) and *B* (= M, G, T, Bu). Here it is important to note that G (the edition of 1905), M (from Madras) and Bu are all in the Grantha character, while T, from Tanjore in the extreme south, is also presumably a southern manuscript, though this is not explicitly stated by Caland. On the other hand, group *A* contains only northern sources: Be from Benares, and U from Ujjain; while, although Puruṣottama's home is not known, the other nibandha-writers are definitely from the north, the Bhaṭṭa family being resident in Benares, while Anantadeva is known to have been patronised by a Himalayan chieftan, Bāz Bahādur Candra.[1] It may therefore be reasonably suggested that these two groups of manuscripts represent respectively a northern and southern recension of the text. This conclusion is of importance for the criticism of the text, since it is virtually certain that such a split between the two recensions must be of considerable antiquity, and their common archetype can safely be considered to be many centuries older than Puruṣottama's text. If, on the other hand, both groups had arisen in the same part of the country, there would have been no external reason why the *B*-group should not have diverged from the other some time after Puruṣottama's date. It is true that the respective readings of the two groups make such a theory not at all probable, the time available being hardly sufficient to allow for such a marked difference as the two traditions show. It is nevertheless of value to have this additional argument to support the theory of an early divergence. There is another slight confirmation available. In the second edition of Chentsal Rao's book, there appear in the footnotes the readings of another source, designated by the editor as *Śrm*, or *Śrm-kośa*. The precise meaning of this symbol is not clear to me, but it seems a reasonable conjecture

[1] Kane, op. cit. I, p. 451.





that the source in question is the printed text of the first edition. From the preface of the second, we learn that the first edition, in addition to the text of the *Pravara-mañjarī*, had printed separately the Baudhāyana account (a feature retained in the second in the case of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana), but that the reviser had decided to dispense with it, since the *Mañjarī* already contained the whole of Baudhāyana's text. The second edition also has been revised in the light of manuscripts belonging to the Government Oriental Library at Mysore. Now, the readings of *Śrm* for the Baudhāyana text agree closely with the manuscripts of the *B*-group, and in particular with Bu (which, we may note here, is also the closest relative of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's secondary source); whereas in the rest of the text it clearly belongs to the *Mañjarī* tradition, being most nearly related to P 2. It therefore seems likely that the readings of *Śrm*, which I have for convenience designated 'S', are those of the first edition, taken from the *Mañjarī* text for the rest of the work, but for the sake of variety from the separate printing of Baudhāyana's account. It is natural that the manuscript used for this separate printing, in Mysore, should be representative of the southern tradition.

The history of Baudhāyana's pravara-chapter may therefore be represented by the following stemma:

## THE OTHER DETAILED ACCOUNTS

The precise position in the Vedic literature of the pravara-chapter attributed by Puruṣottama to Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi is a complex problem, to the discussion of which we shall return below. For the present, we shall consider the text. For this list we have no account preserved which is independent of Puruṣottama's work, and therefore at first sight the position would seem to be considerably worse than for Baudhāyana's list. Nevertheless, the existence of three additional sources which must come ultimately from the same original, namely, the Mānava, the Bodleian manuscript, and the Matsya Purāṇa account, make it possible to improve the text quite appreciably.

For Puruṣottama's account, the sources are as already given for Baudhāyana.

The India Office Library possesses a modern Nāgarī copy of a pravara-chapter called the *Mānava* in the catalogue (Keith, no. 4599); the final colophon attributes it to the Maitrāyaṇi-śākhā. In view of the uncertainty surrounding the whole question of attribution of these *pravara-khaṇḍas*, the mere evidence of a colophon must be treated with scepticism; but for convenience the readings of this manuscript have been noted as 'Mān.'.

Very closely related to this is the *pravarādhyāya* in the Bodleian manuscript of the Pariśiṣṭas of the White Yajur-veda, of which it forms the eleventh. In the manuscript, the ending of the third *pariśiṣṭa* and the beginning of the eleventh are missing, the pravara-lists starting in the middle of the Bhṛgus. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a copy of this manuscript in Roman transcription, and Weber, in his Catalogue, has printed the whole of the pravara-chapter from this copy 'because of the importance of the subject-matter, and in spite of the frightful state of the manuscript'. I have perforce depended on Weber's Catalogue for this text; and although it is there available in published form, I have printed it here, together with the Mānava, for ease of reference, and also because comparison with the other lists made it possible to restore something even of these appallingly corrupt manuscripts. To avoid begging the question of attribution, I have denoted the readings of the Bodleian text by the letter 'W'.

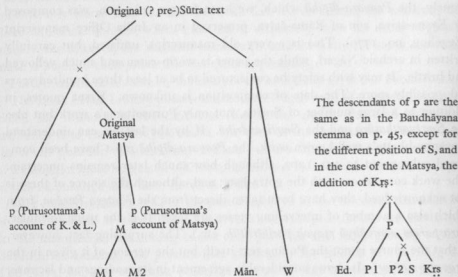
The Matsya list is preserved by Puruṣottama, and in the texts of the Purāṇa itself. For the latter, I have been able to compare the Calcutta edition of 1876 and the Ānandāśrama edition of 1907, denoted in the apparatus criticus by 'M 1' and 'M 2' respectively. I also started to collate the readings of the names in the translation published in the 'Sacred Books of the Hindus' Series, vol. XVII, by 'a Taluqdar of Oudh'. This, however, turns out to be a thoroughly careless piece of work, following the Calcutta edition, or an equally incorrect text, and having no value whatsoever for our purpose. Neither M 1 nor M 2 is a critical edition, though M 2 pretends to be, by giving a list of variants in the form of an apparatus criticus. The agreement between the two is almost complete—so





much so as to give the impression that M 2 has been copied directly from M 1. This is, however, presumably not the case, since the Calcutta edition is not cited among the sources by M 2. But it is surprising how frequently M 2 prints the correct reading in a footnote, from one of its manuscripts, but gives in the body of the text the same blunder as M 1. At all events, it is certain that the tradition of these two is distinct from that preserved by Puruṣottama.

For the reconstruction of the Matsya's text, one further source is available, namely, the *Pravara-dīpikā* which, we learn from a colophon, was composed by Kṛṣṇa-śaiva, son of Rāma-śaiva, preserved in an India Office manuscript (Eggeling, no. 1779). This is a very old manuscript, undated, but carefully written in archaic Nāgarī, while the paper is worm-eaten and much yellowed and brittle. It may with safety be conjectured to be at least three hundred years old, possibly more. The date of composition is unknown. Kṛṣṇa quotes, in addition to a large number of Smṛtis, not only Puruṣottama's work but also the *Smṛtyarthasāra* and the *Smṛticandrikā*. If by the last we can understand Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa's well-known work, the *Pravara-dīpikā* must have been composed subsequent to A.D. 1200, although how much later remains uncertain. The work commences with the gotra-lists; and, although the source of these is not acknowledged, they have been taken direct from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, from which also a number of intervening verses are taken (e.g. the usual formulae, *parasparam avaivāhyā ṛṣayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ*, etc.). The surprising fact, however, is that the source is not the Purāṇa text itself, but the version of it given in the *Pravara-mañjarī*. It shows considerable agreement in its readings and lacunae, e.g. the gap of twenty-four names in the Matsya account of the Bhāradvājas. Completely conclusive, however, is the case of the Gautamas. These, in Puruṣottama's text, are given separately for the other lists, but for the Matsya account they are given together with the Bhāradvājas, thus coming after the Bhāradvāja lists of the others. Kṛṣṇa gives for the Gautamas a short confused list composed for the most part of gaṇa-names masquerading as individual families, and derived from the other Sūtra lists. Then follow a few Bhāradvājas, and, finally, the main Matsya list of the Gautamas, succeeded by the Matsya Bhāradvājas. It is clear that Kṛṣṇa, with the *Mañjarī* text before him, was puzzled by the apparent omission of the Gautamas in the Matsya account, and, to hide the deficiency, simply manufactured a list from the materials of the Sūtra accounts. When later in the work he came upon the Gautama list proper, he inserted it without comment, probably not realising that it was the list he had previously missed. It remains a problem why Kṛṣṇa should have confined his attention in the main to the Matsya list, when the others were available to him. (Admittedly, a few additional points are added from the other lists in several families.) The only solution which suggests itself is simply that in his piety he thought the Matsya a more reliable source than the Sūtras. In the manuscript each name is given separately, uninflected, with a number. This attempt at

clarity has revealed a quite surprisingly large number of cases where the word-division has been wrongly understood, and where epithets and so forth have been taken as distinct proper names. By itself, therefore, the work is of minimal value; but in a number of cases it supplies useful confirmation of Puruṣottama's readings. In the apparatus criticus its readings are denoted by 'Krṣ'.

The systematic position of the *Matsya Purāṇa* account of the pravara-lists is beyond question: it has clearly been derived from a Sūtra account which, if not identical, was very closely related to the 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi' list as given by Puruṣottama. That this source was already corrupted is shown by the impossibility in a number of cases of fitting the correct names into the metre—although the possibility that in some cases the Matsya author distorted names to fit his metre must be borne in mind. The order of the names conforms as closely to the Sūtra order as the metre allows; otherwise minor inversions are admitted.

It will not be out of place to remark here that the state of the Matsya text of the pravara-lists is a notable revelation of the utter lack of trustworthiness of the printed editions of the Purāṇa, and even, to judge by the variants noted by M2, of the Purāṇa manuscripts in general. It is obvious that if we had to depend entirely on the manuscripts of the Matsya for the reconstruction of these chapters the result would be quite hopeless as a detailed account of the gotra system. In this particular case, the external evidence provided by the Sūtras make it possible to give an approximation to the original text; but the Purāṇa tradition itself could scarcely be worse preserved. The present case is therefore





a solemn warning against the use of editions of the Purāṇas—especially since most are, even from the point of view of their own manuscripts, quite uncritical—as sources for historical facts, unless there is also available very weighty confirmatory evidence from altogether independent sources.[1]

The interrelationship, therefore, of the various texts may be shown by the stemma on p. 48.

## KĀTYĀYANA AND LAUGĀKṢI

The problem in brief is that Puruṣottama quotes a single list which he attributes to both Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi; whereas the list preserved in the Bodleian manuscript of 'White Yajur-veda Pariśiṣṭas' (W), which is also ascribed to Kātyāyana in the colophon, differs from Puruṣottama's list in several important respects, most notably in the addition of a number of families among the Bhṛgus, the Viśvāmitras, and the Agastis. Moreover, while W often agrees with K. & L. in the ordering of individual names within the gaṇas, it often disagrees not only in the order but also in adding or omitting names. To add to the complexity of the problem, the India Office *Mānava-pravarādhyāya* agrees for the most part with W and as against K. & L.

Caland[2] accepted W as being the Kātyāyana text, and assumed that the list given by Puruṣottama was that of the Laugākṣi School only, that is, the Kāṭhaka text. In his apparatus criticus, therefore, 'Kātyāyana' refers to W, and 'Laugākṣi' to the readings of P 1 for K. & L. The question, however, is hardly to be dismissed so simply. Puruṣottama, for all his shortcomings, is an exceedingly conscientious writer, and it is on the face of it unlikely that he should make such a rash ascription as Caland's view would imply. Moreover, some of Puruṣottama's remarks make it quite clear that he had before him a manuscript which at least called itself the Kātyāyana text. Thus, at the end of the Gautama section, he comments that the Laugākṣi reading is throughout *angirasvat*, while in the text, according to Kātyāyana, he gives the normal Sūtra *angirovat*. Completely convincing, however, is the concluding Sūtra of the *paribhāṣā*-chapter. Here the order of the names in the pravaras is prescribed, and Puruṣottama's text notes that Kātyāyana alone of all the Sūtra writers gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's; while the others all state that the Adhvaryu reverses the order of the Hotṛ's pravara, Laugākṣi agreeing with the majority. Now, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa pointedly gives the prescription for the order of the Adhvaryu's pravara in precisely the same words

[1] The only other Purāṇa which deals with the subject of the gotras would seem to be the amorphous collection known as the *Skanda-purāṇa* (in the *Dharmāraṇya-māhātmya* of the Brahma-khaṇḍa, chaps. 9, 21, and 39). The account given is garbled and corrupt, and the author seems to have had at best only a very slight understanding of the gotra organisation. It is at all events clear that nothing of any value for the understanding of the older texts can be obtained from this source.

[2] *Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra*, III, p. x.

as for that of the Hotṛ; and the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra equally clearly gives the same rule.[1] There can therefore be no doubt that Puruṣottama had before him the authentic Kātyāyana text. Equally, there can be no doubt that W is not the Kātyāyana text, in spite of its colophon, since it gives the Adhvaryu's pravara in the same order as do the majority of the Sūtras. There is, however, no means of deciding the real origin of W. We may provisionally accept Mān. as the text of the Mānava School, although the occurrence of families foreign to the other lists (except W) and to the Vedic literature generally (for example, Vatsa-purodhasa, Veda-viśvajyotis, Kapotaretas, etc.) make it probable that the text as we know it has been extensively interpolated. It is conceivable that W is a fairly recent plagiarism of the Mānava text, although such differences as, for example, the pravara of the Śunga-Śaiśiris, where Mān. gives the last two names of the pravara as *Śaunga, Śaiśira* (agreeing with K. & L., Matsya), while W gives *Kātya, Ātkīla* (agreeing with Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana), would seem to be true variants. Nevertheless, the agreement between the two is remarkably close, although both have admittedly suffered badly at the hands of copyists. After the Angirases, they both give the remaining gotras in the order Viśvāmitras, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaśyapas, Atris, Agastyas; whereas the other Sūtras (and the Matsya) have the order Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Agastyas.[2]

A number of definite errors is shared by K. & L., Mān., and W, as well as by the Matsya, and it is certain that the text was corrupted very early in its history. An interesting example is the family which appears in Baudhāyana, Āśvalāyana, and Āpastamba as Śraumata-Kāmakāyana (among the Viśvāmitras) but is given by Mān., W, K. & L., and the Matsya unanimously as Saumuka-K. (which has further been corrupted by W to saumṛga-). In view of such cases, it is highly probable that the common ancestor of these four lists must be assigned to a period later than the other Sūtra lists, when the names given in the lists were no longer current. This would imply direct borrowing of the text of one School by another. In fact, we may consider this borrowing to be established in the case of the Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi Schools, since, however surprising such a thing may be between a Black Yajus School and the White Yajus, the alternative would be to assume that the original of the lists, complete with the individual subfamilies, was originally composed before the Vājasaneyi schism. Such a theory, though not impossible, is on the whole rather improbable.

[1] ŚB 1. 5. 1. 10; KŚS 3. 25; see below, p. 75. This is clearly an instance of the reforming zeal of the Vājasaneyins.

[2] The *B*-group of manuscripts for the Baudhāyana list, however, has the order Atris, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, Viśvāmitras, Agastyas.





## PĀṆINI AND THE *GAṆA-PĀṬHA*

Pāṇini, as is well known, gives a detailed and intricate set of rules for the formation of gotra-names by means of the suffixes *-i*, *-ya*, *-āyana*, *-āyani*, etc. For the purpose of his grammar, he defines the term *gotra* as *apatyaṃ pautra-prabhṛti gotram*,[1] that is to say, 'a *gotra* is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards'. But if a member of the first filial generation is still alive, the grandson's generation is technically called *yuvan*,[2] and different rules are prescribed for the derivation of the *yuvan*-name from that of the grandfather. There are several indications that Pāṇini knew a pravara-list, which may of course not be one of those which have come down to us. Thus, for example, 4. 1. 102 teaches the forms Śāradvatāyana and Śaunakāyana in the sense of a Bhṛgu and a Vatsa respectively; in other cases the forms are Śāradvata (cf. the Gautamas), and Śaunaka (a separate gaṇa of the Kevala Bhṛgus). Again, 4. 1. 108 prescribes the form Vātaṇḍya for an Āngirasa, but otherwise Vātaṇḍa (cf. the Viśvāmitras).

Even more striking are the correspondences between the pravara-lists and the lists of the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*. The most outstanding case occurs in the *gaṇa-aśvādi*, where the forms 'Bhāradvājāyana in the sense of an Ātreya', and 'Ātreyāyaṇa in the sense of a Bharadvāja' are prescribed. Both of these forms appear in the pravara-lists under the families indicated by the *Gaṇa-pāṭha*.

Both the text of Pāṇini and that of the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* therefore supply us with very valuable evidence in a number of cases for the reconstruction of the text of the pravara-lists. It can scarcely be supposed that the text of the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* as it has come down to us is completely free from error, but it is incomparably better preserved than that of the pravara-lists, and constituting as it does a completely independent source, it possesses a very high value in those cases, unfortunately few, where its evidence can be adduced.

For a fuller discussion, see Brough, *JRAS* (1946), pp. 41 ff.

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In translating Puruṣottama's own somewhat verbose text, I have tried as far as possible to spare the reader's patience by condensing much of the repetitive material, and by omitting entirely a large number of verses, which, as being merely extravagant laudations of the Sūtra-authors, or else simply repetitions in verse of what has already been stated in prose, add nothing of value to our knowledge of the system of gotra and pravara.

[1] 4. 1. 162. [2] 4. 1. 163.

# THE GOTRA-PRAVARA-MAÑJARĪ
# OF
# PURUṢOTTAMA-PAṆḌITA

# GOTRA-PRAVARA-MAÑJARĪ

## INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

He who marries the daughter of a man of his own gotra or pravara is to be subjected to the same punishments and penances, etc., as one who sins with his mother; and he begets on her a son who is a Caṇḍāla by caste.[1]

But if a man in ignorance marries such a girl and has intercourse with her, the wife ought to undergo a Lunar penance, and if she conceives, the offspring is not defiled, and is said by the sages who are expert in gotra matters to belong to the Kāśyapa gotra.

When the man has performed the Cāndrāyaṇa penance, and has expelled his sin, then husband and wife should together serve one another all the days of their life, showing mutual respect, like mother and son.

Those who do not know the *gaṇas* of their own gotra- and pravara-seers and those of others, must be held to fall into great sin, but those who know this distinction dwell in the world of Brahmā.

And since it is difficult to grasp the gotras, which number three *koṭis*, I have therefore undertaken this 'Cluster of buds' (*mañjarī*) which has as its fruit the understanding of all the gotras and pravaras of everyone. May this 'Cluster', blossoming with gotras and having understanding of the pravaras as its fruit, be an oblation of flowers among the lotus petals which are the feet of the wise men who know all things and are learned in the Vedas.

In this work, therefore, by the favour of Śiva and of my teacher, I shall explain the pravaras of the three *varṇas* to the best of my instruction and knowledge, for the sake of aiding those who are lacking in learning or wisdom. Thus, I shall explain the nature and enumeration of the gotras, the rules concerning sameness of gotra and membership of two gotras, and the prohibition of marriage in that case; the nature and enumeration of the pravaras, cases where there is doubt as to pravara, the rules concerning sameness of pravara, and the prohibition of marriage in that case; citing at every point what can be learned in the pravara-chapters of such Kalpa-Sūtra authors as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāṣāḍha, Kuṇḍina, Bhāradvāja, Laugākṣi, Kātyāyana, and Āśvalāyana; the authors of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, etc.; of Epics such as the *Bhārata*, of Smṛtis such as *Manu*, etc.; according

[1] *Jāticaṇḍāla* is a somewhat awkward formation. The model is clearly the common *jātibrāhmaṇa*, a Brahman whose sole qualification as a Brahman is his birth; cf. Mahābhāṣya, i. 411:

*tapaḥ śrutaṃ ca yoniś cety etad brāhmaṇakārakam:*
*tapaḥśrutābhyāṃ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ.*

But to give the impression of 'a Caṇḍāla by birth alone' is somewhat inept, and no doubt the difficulties of the metre must be blamed. For this stigma, cf. below, p. 62.

to the traditional interpretation of the commentators on each of these authors.

In these works, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, Purāṇas and Smṛtis teach their gotra- and pravara-sections in one and the same order. That order, which we also shall follow in our exposition, we shall first index here, for the assistance and easier understanding of unlearned Brahmans.

*Chapter I*

First of all comes the section dealing with General Rules (*paribhāṣā*), containing all the arguments relating to the prescriptions and duties connected with gotra and pravara; and in this section there are quotations prescribing gotras and pravaras and their enumeration, from the *Taittirīyas* and other directly revealed *śākhās* of the Vedas.

*Chapter II*

Thereafter is taught the section dealing with the enumeration of the gotras and pravaras of the Bhṛgus; the gotra-gaṇas that are taught are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Vatsas | Śunakas |
| Bidas | Mitrayus[1] |
| Ārṣṭiṣeṇas | Vainyas, etc. |
| Yaskas | |

And according to the gaṇas, the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

The three gaṇas, Vatsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa and Bida, are forbidden to marry with each other and within their own gaṇa. The others, from Yaska to Vainya, may not marry within their own gaṇa, but are permitted to intermarry with all the others already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter.

*Chapter III*

Next come the sections dealing with the gotras and pravaras of the Āngirasas, in three divisions, viz. Gautamas, Bharadvājas, and Kevala Āngirasas.

1. The following are taught as the manifold *gaṇas* of the Gautamas:

| | |
|---|---|
| Āyāsya Gautamas | Somarājaki Gautamas |
| Aucathya Gautamas | Vāmadeva Gautamas |
| Auśija Gautamas | Bṛhaduktha Gautamas |
| Rāhūgaṇa Gautamas | |

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Gautamas.

2. Next, Bharadvājas. And among the gaṇas of Bharadvājas are the following:

Kevala Bharadvājas
Śunga-Śaiśiris, who belong to two families[2]
Ṛkṣas
Kapis
Gargas, etc.

[1] Ed. *mitrayuvā(ḥ)*. [2] *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*.





And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Bharadvājas.

3. Next, the Kevala Āngirasas. The gaṇas are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Harita | Mudgala |
| Kutsa | Saṃkṛti |
| Kaṇva | Viṣṇuvṛddha, etc. |
| Rathītara | |

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

Among these, Haritas and Kutsas do not intermarry one with the other.[1] Kaṇvas and the rest are permitted to intermarry.

*Chapter IV*

Next come the gotras of the Atris. Among these the gaṇas are:

Kevala Atris
Vādbhutakas[2]
Gaviṣṭhiras
Atithis
Putrikāputras, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Atris.

*Chapter V*

Next, the gotras of the Viśvāmitras. Among these the gaṇas are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Devarātas | Dhanaṃjayas |
| Raukṣakas | Aghamarṣaṇas |
| Lohakas | Pūraṇas |
| Lohitas | Indrakauśikas |
| Śraumatas | Ājāyanas |
| Katas | Reṇavas,[3] etc. |

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Viśvāmitras

*Chapter VI*

Next, the gotras of the Kaśyapas. Among these the gaṇas are:

Nidhruvas
Rebhas
Śāṇḍilas
Laugākṣas,[4] etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Kaśyapas.

[1] Both are comprehended under the Yauvanāśva gaṇa. See the lists given below, pp. 121, 127
[2] Ed. *vāgbhūtakā*.
[3] Ed. *revaṇā*.
[4] Ed. *logākṣā*.

*Chapter VII*

Next, the gotras of the Vasiṣṭhas. Among these the gaṇas are:

Kevala Vasiṣṭhas
Upamanyus
Parāśaras
Kuṇḍinas
Saṃkṛtis.[1]

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

*Chapter VIII*

Next, the gotras of the Agastis. Among these the gotra-gaṇas are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Idhmavāhas | Yajñavāhas |
| Sāmbhavāhas | Māhendras |
| Somavāhas | Paurṇamāsas. |

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Agastis.

*Chapter IX*

Thereafter, the pravara of Kṣatriyas, their own, and (the rule as to) the pravara of their purohita.

The fact of non-intermarriage between Kṣatriyas and the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas is not taught, since the term (gotra) has no validity in their case, and in the absence of that validity there is no occasion for the prohibition.[2]

Thereafter, of Vaiśyas, just as in the case of Kṣatriyas—their own pravara, and that of their purohita.

[*Chapter X*. The topics which constitute this chapter are omitted from the summary. They are: cases where the gotra is not known; sacrificial applications of gotra, etc.; marriage within the mother's gotra.]

*Chapter XI*

Then come sections on the *Mānava-pravara*, common to all the (three) varṇas. In these sections is given the *Mānava-pravara* of one *ṛṣi*-name, belonging without distinction to the three varṇas.

*Chapter XII*

And finally are taught the concluding sections of the work, which demonstrate the fruits attained by the study of the pravara-chapters by those who know the truth concerning sameness of gotra and pravara—comparable to the study of the Veda by those who know *brahman*—viz. the attainment of the world of Brahmā. And with this the pravara-chapters come to an end.

[1] Cf. above, p. 57, among the Kevala Āṅgirasas.

[2] So P2; Ed. omits the words 'and in the absence...prohibition'; while P1 gives the rule only in a marginal correction and by the unfortunate omission of the words *na* and *prāptyabhāvāt* reverses the sense. Cf. however below, pp. 195–6.





Within the gaṇas which have been classified in this index of chapters, it must be known that the number of gotras, the names and series, which occur in any one gaṇa, are all classified according to the order of the Sūtra texts. Similarly, the enumeration of the pravaras, with their division into five, three, two and one *ṛṣi*-name respectively, must be known according to the order of the Sūtra texts.

Thus, all that is to be said in this work has been here indexed, to satisfy curiosity, and to make things easier to grasp.

In this work then I shall first explain the Sūtras given in the Great Pravara-chapter of Baudhāyana, quoting it *in extenso* to the end of the first chapter;[1] thereafter quoting and explaining the Sūtras of Āpastamba, etc.

[1] Read *tatrā prathamādhyāyaparisamāpter*. In other words, a complete chapter at a time will be quoted, before the other Sūtras are cited for comparison.

Chapter I

# GENERAL RULES

## A. *Baudhāyana*

1. *Now therefore we shall explain the pravaras.*

We shall here explain Baudhāyana's section in accordance with the views of the commentary called the *Amala-bhāṣya*.[1]

(In the Śrauta Sūtra) the four types of *śrauta* sacrifice have been explained, viz. *iṣṭi*, *soma*, animal, and *darvīhoma* sacrifices, beginning with the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices and ending with the Sattras; and the choosing of the *ārṣeya* has been prescribed as a part of these rites. Thus, in the *Taittirīyas*, in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices:[2] 'He chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis* (*ārṣeyam*);[3] he does not indeed depart from the relationship (with the *ṛṣis*), and so it conduces to continuity. He chooses from the remote end the nearer ones; therefore the Fathers, from the remote end the nearer ones, drink in order before men.'

So, too, the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Vājasaneyins which prescribes the 'choosing of the *ṛṣi*-formula' (*ārṣeyavaraṇam*) in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices:[4] 'Next he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names; he thus makes him known in this matter to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, with the thought, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice". It is for this reason that he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names. He recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards, for from the remote end hitherwards a lineage is propagated. He thus also conceals him from (the wrath of) the Lord of the Elder One. For here (among men) the father comes first, then the son, then the grandson. Therefore he recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards.'

So, too, one may quote elsewhere, *śākhā* by *śākhā*. Thus certain subordinate sacrificial directions are given in the matter of gotras, as: 'In the case of Vasiṣṭhas and Rājanyas the concluding verse (of the Sāmidhenīs) is "Thou, O Varuna", but "Pour ye the oblation" in the case of the other gotras.'[5] So also: 'The second fore-offering is to Narāśaṃsa in the case of the Vāsiṣṭhas and Śunakas, to Tanūnapāt in the case of the other gotras.'[6] So also: 'At the Jyotiṣṭoma the Brahmā-priest is a Vāsiṣṭha.'[7] So also, the kindling of the fire according to

[1] In P1, P2 only.

[2] TS 2. 5. 8.

[3] The whole of this paragraph down to here is found in P2 only; Ed. and P1 start with the words *bandhor eva naity*, etc.

[4] ŚB 1. 4. 2. 3–4.

[5] ĀpŚS 21. 2. 4–5; 24. 11. 15. The mantras are at TB 3. 5. 2. 4.

[6] ĀpŚS 21. 2. 6–7; 24. 11. 16. Cf. ĀŚS 1. 5. 21, BŚS pr. 54, ŚŚS 1. 7. 3, all of which give a bigger list of those who use the Narāśaṃsa; and see Weber, *ISt* x, p. 88; *JRAS* (1947), p. 80.

[7] Cf. TS 3. 5. 2; BŚS 2. 3.





the (ancestral) *ṛṣi* (*yatharṣyādhānam*) is prescribed for the Bhṛgus with the words: 'Of the Bhṛgus thee, of the gods (O lord of the vow, I kindle by means of the vow)', and for the Angirases with the words: 'Of the Angirases thee, of the gods.'[1] So also: 'In the case of the Jamadagnis the cake is divided into five portions, but in the case of the other gotras, four.'[2] And at the Rājasūya: 'The Hotṛ-priest is a Bhārgava.'[3] Also at a Soma-sacrifice: 'He gives gold to the Ātreya first, or second, or third.'[4] And so one may quote from one place after another.

Moreover, all the authors of law-books, considering that unmarried males, like those who have not established the sacred fire, or who are fallen (from caste), are not capable of performing religious rites, have ruled that marriage and non-marriage are to depend on gotra and pravara. As Yājñavalkya says:[5] 'One should marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not born in the same Ārṣa-gotra.' In this verse *asamānārṣajām* means 'born of a man who does not have the same pravara', and *asamānagotrajām* means 'born of a man who has a different gotra'.[6] Āpastamba says:[7] 'A man should not give his daughter to one of his own gotra.' Gautama says:[8] 'Marriage is with persons having different pravaras.' Gautama, moreover, considering that to approach sexually a woman of one's own gotra is morally equivalent to violating one's teacher's wife, says:[9] 'Sexual relations with (the wife of) a friend, a uterine sister, a woman of one's own gotra (the wife of a pupil),[10] one's daughter-in-law, or a cow, are all equal to violating one's teacher's wife.'

Baudhāyana says:[11] 'He who goes to a woman of his own gotra must perform the Cāndrāyaṇa penance.'

Yama says:[12] 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with

[1] ĀpŚS 5. 11. 7. Chentsal Rao carelessly refers the passage to TB 1. 1. 4.

[2] Cf. KŚS 1. 9. 3–4. Rudradatta, commenting on the ĀpŚS 2. 18. 2, refers the present passage to the Sūtra of Satyāṣāḍha. Yājñika Deva's commentary to Kātyāyana quotes from a *smṛti* which mentions also the Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas as pañcāvattinaḥ. So, too, Smṛtyarthasāra. These are of course considered as Jamadagnis, according to the most prevalent view. ŚB 1. 7. 2. 8 mentions the fivefold cutting with disapproval, without, however, attributing it to the Jamadagnis, saying that the fourfold is approved among the Kuru-pañcālas. Cf. Eggeling, *SBE* xii, p. 192n., and see also ĀpŚS 8. 15. 5ff.; Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 98.

[3] TS 1. 8. 18; cf. ŚŚS 15. 12. 2.

[4] ĀpŚS 13. 6. 12. Ed. misquotes *ca* instead of *vā*. The payment of gold as a sacrificial fee to the Ātreyas is frequently mentioned. Cf. MS 4. 8. 3, 11. 1 = KS 28. 4; PB 6. 6. 11; JaimB 1. 80; VaitS 21. 25. See Weber, *ISt* x, pp. 383–4. An Ātreya should be the first to receive a sacrificial fee, Gopatha B 1. 2. 17.

[5] Yājñ.Smṛti 1. 3. 53. The Mitākṣarā also takes *ārṣa* as a noun = *pravara*.

[6] This explanation (taking *ārṣa* as a noun) is probably wrong. Cf. p. 7 above.

[7] ĀpDhS 2. 5. 11. 15.

[8] GautDhS 4. 2. Max Müller (*Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 387) wrongly attributes it to ĀŚS, where, however, the passage is spurious.

[9] GautDhS 23. 12.

[10] Ed. omits this phrase.

[11] BŚS pr. 54, which, however, reads *caret* for *kuryāt*. Cf. BDhS 2. 1. 38.

[12] I have not been able to trace the sources of this and the following quotations.

a woman;[1] and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman; and the son of a woman who has married a man of the same gotra: these three are held to be Caṇḍālas.'

Similarly, in another *smṛti*: 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman; and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman: know that these two are Caṇḍālas; and likewise he who is born from the same gotra.'

So too: 'He who marries the daughter of his mother's brother; or a woman of his mother's gotra; or a woman of the same pravara, should leave her, and perform the Cāndrāyaṇa penance.'[2]

So, too, in dealing with the Śrāddha, Āpastamba says:[3] 'One should entertain those who are not related by blood (*yoni*), gotra, mantras,[4] or by the fact of their being pupils.' And see too, other passages in the *smṛtis passim.*

(And this study is an important matter,) since the afore-mentioned sacrificial occasions and ritual acts such as marriage, etc., are dependent on a knowledge of the facts about gotra and pravara; and since in the absence of this knowledge complete and utter destruction is entailed, because of the loss of Brahmanhood which is resultant on sins such as violating one's teacher's wife, or producing children who are Caṇḍālas.

And because the number of the gotras is measured at three *koṭis*—like the number of dust of the earth, or the stars in the sky—Baudhāyana shows the difficulty of knowing the subject by pointing out the number in the following stanza:[5]

'Of the gotras there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions; but the pravaras of these are forty-nine, as the *ṛṣi*-names show.'[6]

Since the three numerals in this stanza, thousands, millions, and tens of millions, are all in the plural number, there turn out to be three *koṭis* (thirty million) of gotras.[7] Therefore immediately after the previously completed Ritual-section, in order to impart the knowledge which is in fact required in that section as to gotra, and non-marriage in the case of identity of gotra and pravara, 'Therefore', he says, i.e. because of this, 'we shall explain the pravaras', since in the absence of this word, the heading-rule, namely, that what follows deals with ritual, would not be applicable, because these pravaras have not been

[1] *ārūḍhapatitāpatyaṃ*: so interpreted by Abhinava-Mādhava, *Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya*, 90 (in Chentsal Rao's compendium, *Principles of Pravara and Gotra*, p. 353).

[2] Attributed by the medieval nibandhas, *Saṃskāra-kaustubha*, *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, to Śātātapa.

[3] ĀpGS 21. 2; cf. ĀpDhS 2. 7. 17. 4.

[4] Oldenberg, *SBE* xxx, p. 292, explains 'such as his teacher or his pupils'; but the meaning may be wider, 'belonging to his own Vedic *śākhā*'.

[5] BŚS pr. 54.

[6] The clumsy expression *ṛṣidarśanāt* may be a reminiscence of Yāska's etymology, *ṛṣir darśanāt*, Nir. 2. 11.

[7] Cf. below, p. 204. Note that Puruṣottama takes *arbuda* to mean ten millions (=*koṭi*), instead of its usual sense of a hundred millions.





spoken of in the Ritual-section. This is the explanation of the words 'Now therefore'.[1]

*We shall explain the pravaras.* The pravaras of all Brahmans who have established the sacred fire, and who belong to several thousands, millions and tens of millions of gotras, related in branches and secondary branches in the line of their family descent (*vaṃśa*) from the seven *ṛṣis* with Agastya as the eighth, as shall be shown in the sequel—these *pravaras* are the *especial supplications* (*prakarṣeṇa varaṇāni*),[2] i.e. the prayers (*prārthanāni*) as made by each several individual to the Āhavanīya fire, called the Oblation-bearer, by reason of its being related to the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya either as descendant or as being like them.[3]

And these pravaras are prescribed in two different forms for the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu respectively. In the case of the Vatsas, for example, that of the Hotṛ is a five-*ṛṣi* pravara: 'O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.' In this pravara, information is given to the Āhavanīya fire by means of the names of five seers of Vedic hymns who are famed among the gods. Thinking 'Thus informed, and not otherwise, will the fire bear the oblation to the gods', the Hotṛ invites (*vṛṇīte*) that fire, i.e. supplicates it (*prārthayate*). So, too, with the same five Vedic seers, but in reverse order of descent from the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, by reason of its likeness to them, the Adhvaryu invites, i.e. supplicates, the same Āhavanīya fire, as: 'Like Jamadagni, like Ūrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.' The meaning of this is: 'Just as Jamadagni and the rest, because of being known to the gods by reason of their fitness, and the fact that they offered acceptable food at the sacrifice, were therefore fit persons to cast their oblations for the gods into thee, so also this sacrificer, as a Vatsa, and therefore a descendant of theirs, and as standing in the place of a father to thee, since he kindled thee,[4] is likewise fit to cast the oblation into thee.' And in the pravara of the Adhvaryu this same Āhavanīya fire is invited, i.e. supplicated. And that this is in fact the correct explanation of the word *pravara* is shown by the Sāmidhenī-verses, whose purpose is to bring forth the fire, and by the Brāhmaṇa passages which prescribe the pravara. Thus, in the Sāmidhenīs, the verses: 'We choose Agni as our messenger', 'Choose ye the Oblation-carrier', etc.,[5] show that the Āhavanīya fire is the object of the pravara, since *Agni*, the fire, is given in the accusative case. The Brāhmaṇa-passage of the *Taittirīyas* dealing with the pravara in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices which explains this mantra makes the meaning clear:[6] 'Now there are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Rakṣas-companion

[1] The point is that *ataḥ* is to have its sense of 'therefore', and not, as one might expect, 'from this point onward', since this latter sense might be taken to mean that a new and unconnected section was starting.

[2] In the usual etymological manner, *pra-* is explained by *prakarṣeṇa*.

[3] The *vṛddhi* form of the Hotṛ's pravara, and the suffix *-vat* of the Adhvaryu's.

[4] This seemingly artificial explanation is probably very old, cf. VS 35. 22: 'Thou wert born from this man (at the Agnyādhāna), O Agni...may he be born again from thee.'

[5] TB 3. 5. 2.

[6] TS 2. 5. 8.

of the Asuras. These here recite, "Me will he choose, me"; "Choose ye the Oblation-carrier", he says; he thus chooses the one which is of the gods; he chooses him as being connected with the *ṛṣis*;[1] he does not depart from the relationship (with the *ṛṣis*); and so it conduces to continuity.' Here, too, since the words 'Oblation-carrier', 'the one', 'connected with the *ṛṣis*', are all shown in the accusative case, we understand that it is Agni, the fire, who is to be chosen.

So, too, the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the *Vājasaneyins* which deals with pravara clearly exhibits the same meaning:[2] 'Next he chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis*; and thus he makes him known in this matter to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice"; he therefore chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis*.'[3] The meaning is: 'The fire is connected with the *ṛṣis* because it is produced by the sacrificer, and the sacrificer is a descendant of the *ṛṣis*; that fire he chooses.' And in case there is doubt as to why he does so, the author adds the reason: 'He makes him, i.e. the sacrificer, known to the *ṛṣis* and to the gods, thinking, "Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice".' Since, then, the pravara has this purpose, he therefore chooses 'one connected with the *ṛṣis*'. Therefore, as far as the end of the pravara-chapter (one must understand that) the Āhavanīya fire is the object of the supplications by the pravaras of the Hotṛ and of the Adhvaryu, as being connected with such and such Vedic seers, as descendant, or like them. The *especial supplications* of the fire, according as they are distinguished by various Vedic seers to the number of one, two, three, or five, are called 'one-*ṛṣi* pravaras', 'two-*ṛṣi* pravaras', 'three-*ṛṣi* pravaras', and 'five-*ṛṣi* pravaras' (*ekārṣeyapravara*, etc.) respectively. But the explanation that *pravara* means the *choosings* (*pravaraṇāni*) of the *ṛṣis* who are Vedic seers themselves, is not to be accepted.

But the objection is here raised, that if this explanation of the word *pravara* is taken, there are many Sūtras (which are to be quoted below) which contradict it. For example, all the authors of Sūtras will be quoted as saying: 'The Adhvaryu from the near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the further end the nearer ones.' Now here (the objector says), the Vedic seers themselves, the *ṛṣis*, one, two, three, or five in number, are taken as the object of the choosing, because they are given in the accusative case (*ūrdhvān*, *arvācaḥ*), and the Āhavanīya fire is not. So, too,[4] 'He chooses the Hotṛ who is seated with knees raised, with the words, "Agni the god is Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods"'. Here, too, it is not the fire but the Hotṛ who is understood to be the object of the choosing. How then is there not a contradiction, so to speak, in this matter?

[1] *ārṣeyaṃ vṛṇīte*. On this, and the following quotation from the Śatapatha-br., see above, pp. 14ff. The latter, however, is rendered here as Puruṣottama seems to have taken it.

[2] ŚB 1. 4. 2. 3 = 1. 5. 1. 9.

[3] The phrase which follows here in the edition reads: 'This Brāhmaṇa-passage prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara.' This looks like an unfortunate attempt on the part of a later interpolator to take Puruṣottama to task. But in fact the ŚB uses the same set of words to prescribe both pravaras, as Puruṣottama himself notes, below, p. 75.

[4] ĀpŚS 2. 16. 5. *ūrdhvam* in Ed. is misprinted for *ūrdhvajñum*, *devānām* for *devo*.





To this we reply: this is the objection of a man who does not know the context. For all the authors of Sūtras, immediately after saying: 'The Adhvaryu from the near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the further end the nearer ones', at once go on to give the pravaras of the Hotṛ and of the Adhvaryu: 'The Hotṛ chooses, "O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya"; the Adhvaryu, "Like Jamadagni, like Ūrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu".' Now here there is no question of taking the *ṛṣis* as the object of the choosing, since they are designated by a derivative form (*taddhita*); and in the case of the Adhvaryu's pravara, by use of the suffix *-vat*, meaning 'like NN.'. Therefore, to show that here, too, the fire must be pronounced the object of the choosing, we shall explain these sentences, so that there may be no inconsistency between what goes before and what comes after, or between one Sūtra and another. 'The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones'—from the near end, i.e. from the point of view of the sacrificer, *having recited the names* (*saṃkīrtya*) of the remote *ṛṣis* in the form 'like NN., like NN.', he chooses the Āhavanīya fire, because of its likeness to them. Similarly: 'The Hotṛ from the further end the nearer ones'—here too, 'having recited the names of these *ṛṣis*', the Hotṛ chooses the Āhavanīya fire, because of its relation to them as a descendant. In both cases the fire is to be understood. 'The Hotṛ who is seated with knees raised'[1]—in this context the Āhavanīya fire itself is designated the Hotṛ.[2] How is this?—because the rest of the sentence goes on: 'Agni the god is Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods.' And a Brāhmaṇa-passage also shows the Āhavanīya fire spoken of by the word Hotṛ:[3] '"Agni the god is Hotṛ", he said; he chose him who is of the gods. Thus the gods were victorious.' Thus the meaning of the word *pravara* is as we have explained it above.

And, moreover, these pravaras are either the same or different, the former where the Vedic seers, the *ṛṣis*, are the same in name, number and order; and those who pronounce them are called 'men of the same pravara' (*samānapravarāḥ*)—as for example in the case of the distinct gotras of the Sāvarṇis, Jīvantis, Jābālis, Aitiśāyanas, Vairohityas, Avaṭas, Maṇḍus, Māṇḍavyas, Prācīnayogyas, Mārkaṇḍeyas, etc., since they all have the same pravara, viz. 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', the men belonging to these gotras are 'men of the same pravara'. Similarly with all the others. But 'men of different pravaras' are those whose pravaras differ in names, number, or order, in any one of these three ways, in two of them, or in all three.[4]

In this first sūtra, then, the required explanation of all the pravaras without exception is promised.

[1] Here, too, Ed. has *ūrdhvam*.

[2] Puruṣottama overstates his case. There is no doubt that the human Hotṛ is chosen as well as the fire.

[3] TS 2. 5. 11.

[4] Here again the case is overstated. 'Different' pravaras on this definition are not always sufficiently different to allow intermarriage. Cf. sūtras 10 and 11 below.

2. *The parties are those of the Seven Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth.*

All the Brahmans whose pravaras are here promised are 'parties' of the seven *ṛṣis*, viz. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, with Agastya as the eighth. 'Parties' (*pakṣa*), 'Families' (*vaṃśa*), 'Divisions' (*varga*), and gotras all have the same meaning.

The objection is raised: 'Why are the parties of Bhṛgu and Angiras not given here? For these also are later to be named alongside the seven *ṛṣis*.' To this we reply: they are not named here by way of making a distinction, because Bhṛgu and Angiras do not belong to the seven *ṛṣis*, as indeed is shown by the specification of the seven *ṛṣis*, and because the specification of the parties of Bhṛgu and Angiras is justified otherwise.

3. *Three parties of the Bhṛgus, viz. Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣenas, have five-ṛṣi pravaras.*

4. *Likewise four of the Angirases, viz. Kaumaṇḍas, Dīrghatamas,[1] Raukṣāyaṇas and Gargas.*

5. *The Gargas have a three-ṛṣi option.*

6. *In the party of Viśvāmitra, the Pūraṇas have a two-ṛṣi pravara; the Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas a one-ṛṣi pravara.*

7. *The others from here on have threefold pravaras.*

All others except those already enumerated, from Vatsa to Vasiṣṭha, that is, the others from Vītahavya to Agastya, to the number of three *koṭis*, of whom we shall tell in the sequel, have three-*ṛṣi* pravaras. That this is the meaning is seen from its being expressed otherwise in other sūtras. A choosing by means of three is a 'threefold choosing' (*tripravaraḥ*); those who have this are thus *tripravarāḥ*, i.e. *tryārṣeyapravarāḥ*, men whose pravara consists of three *ṛṣi*-names.[2] This is the meaning, as is seen from the mention of these, i.e. men whose pravaras have one, two, three, or five *ṛṣi*-names respectively (*ekārṣeya*, etc.) in other sūtras. Both these matters we shall tell in the sequel.

8. *Among these the Bhṛgus and the Angirases make a 'separate marriage' (bhinnavivāha), but not if the majority of the ṛṣi-names should be identical. This is the view of Baudhāyana.*

Of this sūtra two explanations are given. The first is as follows: among these gotras which have been enumerated, the Bhṛgus and Angirases, with the

[1] The manuscript tradition of the Baudhāyana Sūtra points to Dīrghatama- as the name here; cf. Caland, pp. 415, 426. There is little doubt, however, that the correct form is Dīrghatamas-.

[2] The difficulty is, of course, the expression *tripravarāḥ* which at first sight might be taken to mean 'men who have three pravaras', instead of 'three *ṛṣis* in their pravara'. In medieval times, it is true, *pravara* came to be used to denote a single pravara-*ṛṣi*; thus: 'The pravaras are *A*, *B*, and *C*', where the Sūtra-usage would be 'the pravara is *A*, *B*, *C*'.





exception of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas and Bharadvājas, although not separate inasmuch as they are Bhṛgus and Angirases, nevertheless make separate marriages. A 'separate marriage' is *as if it were* separate (as to gotra). Or else, a 'separate marriage' is one where the man and his marriage(-choice) are separate (as to gotra). Thus the meaning here is—just as men belonging to the parties of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya are separate one from the other as regards gotra, and leave their own party aside and contract marriages with other parties, i.e. with separate gotras, so also the Bhṛgus and Angirases (with the exception of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas), that is to say, the Vītahavyas, Śunakas, Mitrayuvas, Vainyas, Haritas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc., even though not separate (as regards gotra) since they are Bhṛgus and Angirases, leave merely their own *gaṇa* aside, and form marriages even with other *gaṇas* of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.

The alternative explanation is to make the word-division of the sūtra *bhṛgvangiraso 'bhinnavivāhaṃ kurvate*, i.e. 'the Bhṛgus and Angirases make a "not-separate" marriage'. This means that the Bhṛgus, though 'not separate' inasmuch as they are all Bhṛgus, leave aside only their own *gaṇa* and contract a 'not-separate' marriage even with members of other Bhṛgu-gaṇas. A 'not-separate' marriage means one between those who are not separate (as regards gotra). Similarly the Angirases. Here, since Bhṛgu and Angiras are not included among the seven *ṛṣis*, and do not have the gotras which belong exclusively to the parties of these *ṛṣis*, there is no question of 'belonging to the same gotra', and consequently marriage between their gaṇas is not blameworthy. For they have neither the same pravaras nor the same gotras. Thus the present sūtra allows for the intermarriage of the Bhṛgus one with another, and of the Angirases, inasmuch as they are not included among the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis*.

Here he gives a limiting condition: 'Not if the majority of the *ṛṣi*-names should be identical.' In the case of men with five *ṛṣis* in their pravaras, three constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas and the Bidas.[1] In the case of men with three *ṛṣis* in their pravaras, two constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Haritas and Kutsas.[2] Those of the Bhṛgus and Angirases who are in neither of these two cases contract marriage one with another.

The word *Baudhāyana* is included in the sūtra to do honour to himself, just as in the Jaiminīya Sūtras:[3] 'The view of Jaimini is, a procedure apposite to one ceremony should be negatived, where its application would bring into operation a rule apposite to another ceremony'—here the word *Jaimini* is used for a similar reason. The word *iti* marks the end of the chapter.

[1] 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa', and 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida'.

[2] This is not a very happy example, since most of the lists give these two families identical pravaras; and in Āpastamba, where they differ, only one name coincides.

[3] Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, 12. 1. 7.

9. *Now, the Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the far end the nearer ones. This prescription is applicable to both throughout.*

Immediately after instruction in the duty of pravara, he gives the order of succession in the words 'from the near end the more remote ones', for the reason that only when the order of succession is known is it possible for the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu to perform the choosing of a number of Vedic seers, i.e. the supplicating of the fire. The meaning is: from the near end, i.e. from the sacrificer, having recited in order the names towards the more remote ones who are not separated from the founder of the family (*mūlabhūta ṛṣiḥ*) by any interposing hymn-composers, he chooses, i.e. supplicates, the Āhavanīya fire as being related to these seers by likeness, saying: 'like NN., like NN.'—as in the case of the Vatsas: 'Like Jamadagni, like Ūrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.' 'The Hotṛ from the far end the nearer ones': from the far end, i.e. starting from the *ṛṣi* who is the founder of his family, he recites the names of the Vedic seers who have come after, in the inverse order to the pravara of the Adhvaryu, and supplicates the same fire, as being related to these as offspring, e.g. 'O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.' Being thus supplicated by both, the fire comes to know the fitness of the sacrificer, and will give his oblation to the gods. Just as in the case of choosing, i.e. supplicating, the priests who are members of the sacrificial ritual, these priests when supplicated by the sacrificer will perform the members of the sacrifice, so, too, in the case of the choosing, i.e. supplicating of the fire by the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu, the fire when supplicated by them carries the oblation to the gods. This difference in the orders of succession in the pravaras of the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu is to be applied everywhere, as far as the end of the pravara-chapter.

10. *In the case of coincidence of two ṛṣis, there is no marriage of those who have three ṛṣi-names in their pravaras; in the case of coincidence of three ṛṣis, there is no marriage of those who have five ṛṣi-names in their pravaras; marriage is with persons having different pravaras.*[1]

It has already been said above: 'The Bhṛgus and the Angirases make a "separate marriage", but not if the majority of the *ṛṣi*-names should be identical.' The present sūtra deals with the majority of coinciding *ṛṣi*-names which is the cause of non-marriage of the Bhṛgus and Angirases. The coincidence of two *ṛṣis* in the case of the Bhṛgus with three *ṛṣi*-names in their pravaras is a cause of non-marriage, since the majority of *ṛṣis* is the same. And similarly for the Angirases such as Haritas and Kutsas, where two out of three coincide. Coincidence means being the same. So, too, in the case of Bhṛgus with five-*ṛṣi*

[1] The phrase *asamānapravarair vivāhaḥ* looks like a direct quotation of GautDhS 4. 2, coming as it does somewhat discordantly in the present context. It does not occur in two of Caland's manuscripts of the Sūtra, and is probably an early interpolation.





pravaras—the coincidence of three is a cause of non-marriage, as in the case of the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Vatsas and Bidas. That this is so, we shall show in the proper place.

11. *If even one ṛṣi recurs in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.*

Later in the work[1] he gives a definition of gotra: 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, and Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa—these are the seven *ṛṣis*; a gotra is said to be the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* with Agastya as the eighth.' But as for Pāṇini's definition of gotra:[2] 'A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson (son's son) onwards', and the fact that, since it has only the word 'descendants' in common with Baudhāyana's definition, it must therefore be taken to imply the restriction 'of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya'—otherwise, by an unwarranted extension of the definition, one might conclude that even a Caṇḍāla's descendants from the grandson onwards would justifiably be called a gotra: all this will come in the proper place for the commentary on Baudhāyana's Sūtra.[3]

In conjunction with that sūtra defining the nature of a gotra, the present sūtra lays down a definition of what is meant by 'sameness of gotra'. The meaning is: if even one *ṛṣi* recurs, either as being recited or implicitly,[4] in the pravaras of the gotras of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, i.e. the gotras which owe their title to the fact that they are made up of the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, numbering three *koṭis*, which we are to deal with in the sequel—pravaras of one, two, three or five *ṛṣis*: one must know that identity of gotra is predicated of all these gotras.[5] That is to say, all those who mention in their pravara the name of any one *ṛṣi* of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, or two or three, or five *ṛṣi*-names in common—all these belong to the same gotra. Here he makes this limiting restriction: 'except in the case of a *gaṇa* of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.' This means, except a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus, excluding the Jamadagnis, or of the Angirases, excluding the Gautamas and Bharadvājas. The word *gaṇa* in the singular is used collectively, of a class, i.e. excepting the *gaṇas*, etc. One must know then that among the gaṇas of the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, 'sameness of gotra' is defined by the recurrence of one *ṛṣi* in the pravaras. But because the Bhṛgus and Angirases, always excepting the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas, are not technically gotras, since they are excluded from the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, there is, therefore, as far as they are concerned, no question of 'sameness of gotra'; for such an identity requires that the validity of the expression *gotra* be established first. With this in mind, he has made the exception—'except in the case of a *gaṇa* of the Bhṛgus and Angirases'.

[1] Below, p. 203. [2] Pāṇini 4. 1. 162. [3] See below, p. 206.
[4] See Brough, *BSOS* XI, p. 308.
[5] It is precisely this ambiguity of the term *gotra* which seems to have been responsible for the introduction of the exogamous determination by pravara, see above, pp. 4 ff.

But, it is objected, when there is no validity (*prāpti*) in any case, how can it be an 'exception'? For surely an exception requires that in the first place it must be valid.

Granted that this is so, still (it is necessary to make the exception here) otherwise that 'validity' (i.e. the judgement that the Bhṛgus and Angirases are in fact gotras) might be granted as a result of careless thinking. How so? Seeing the Vatsas, etc., who are descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, using the word *gotra*, and not grasping the distinction wherein lies their claim to that title, the Mitrayus,[1] Śunakas, Haritas, Rathītaras, Mugdalas, etc., who are excluded from the seven *ṛṣis*, also use the word *gotra*—as, for example, 'I belong to the Mitrayu-gotra'.[2] Therefore, with an eye to this sort of 'validity' (of the expression *gotra* in such cases), which results from careless thinking, he makes the exception—'except in the case of a *gaṇa* of the Bhṛgus and Angirases'.

(This is the prima facie view; in reality, however) the exception does not require the validity, because of the principal of syntactical unity, as in the injunction: 'At sacrifices (i.e. main offerings) he uses the phrase *ye yajāmahe*, at the after-offerings he does not use the phrase *ye yajāmahe*': here also, because of its being a syntactical unit, it is pronounced an *exception*, in the definition of the negation of a rule: 'In reality, because it is a supplementary statement, the second phrase should be taken as an *exception* to the former; in the case of a *prohibition* it would result in an option.'[3]

But in the case of the three, Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas, although they are Bhṛgus and Angirases, yet since they are also included in the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, the term gotra is justified in their case, and therefore 'sameness of gotra' is applicable. For this reason the exception does not apply to them. And Baudhāyana himself shows later on in the work that this is the meaning of the exception, in the three sūtras: 'There is no intermarriage between the Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas'; 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas'; 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Bharadvājas.' But with reference to those who are excluded from the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis*—viz. Vītahavyas, Śunakas, Vādhryaśvas, Vainyas, Haritas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc.—the three sūtras above have been given: 'The Bhṛgus and Angirases make a "separate marriage", but not

[1] Ed. *mitrayuva-*.

[2] Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, commenting on ĀŚS xii. 10. 1, calls the use of the term *gotra* by the Mitrayus, etc., an *aupacārikaḥ parāmarśajaḥ prayogaḥ*, a metaphorical usage arising from ratiocination.

[3] This contains a recollection of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, 10. 8. 1–4. The argument there concerns the status of such negations as *nānuyājeṣu yeyajāmahaṃ karoti*. The *pūrvapakṣa* is that it denotes an option, since the use of the phrase has already been prescribed in the general rule *yajñeṣu yeyajāmahaṃ karoti*. The *siddhānta*, which Puruṣottama's text gives here in a mutilated form, is *api tu vākyaśeṣaḥ syād anyāyyatvād vikalpasya vidhīnām ekadeśaḥ syāt*. 'In reality, it should be taken as a supplementary statement, because of the impropriety of an option: it should be considered as part of the injunctions.' It is thus an exception, and not a prohibition, since the latter would permit the illicit deduction that an option was allowed.





if the majority of the *ṛṣi*-names should be identical'; 'In the case of coincidence of two *ṛṣis*, there is no marriage of those who have three *ṛṣi*-names in their pravaras'; 'In the case of coincidence of three *ṛṣis*, there is no marriage of those who have five *ṛṣi*-names in their pravaras.' The word *iti* marks the end of the chapter.

### B. *Āpastamba*

We shall explain this section in accordance with the views of the commentators on the Sūtra of Āpastamba, etc.,[1] Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin, Gurudevasvāmin,[2] etc.

1. *We shall explain the pravaras.*

2. *'He chooses the one connected with the ṛṣis; he does not depart from the connection; and so it conduces to continuity'—thus is it known.*

He chooses the one connected with the *ṛṣis*, i.e. related to himself as a descendant of the *ṛṣis*; or, the one who is connected with the *ṛṣis*, i.e. the Āhavanīya fire which is a descendant of the *ṛṣi*, since it was produced by the sacrificer and the sacrificer is in the line of descent of the *ṛṣi*—that fire he chooses, i.e. supplicates, since it is of his gotra. This being so, he does not depart from the connection, i.e. he does not lapse from the relationship with the *ṛṣi* of olden times. And, moreover, it conduces to continuity, i.e. to continuing the line of his ancestors and himself.

3. *Not by gods, not by men does he choose; but by the ṛṣis he chooses the one connected with the ṛṣis—thus is it known.*

Moreover, it is known—i.e. this is heard in another *śākhā* of the Vedas: not by gods, e.g. Prajāpati, etc., does he choose the one connected with the *ṛṣis*, and not by wise men, e.g. Devadatta, etc.; but by *ṛṣis* only, i.e. Vasiṣtha and the other seers of Vedic hymns.

4. *He recites the ārṣeya in due order; for by means of the ṛṣi the gods learn about the man—thus is it known.*

By means of the *ṛṣi* who was praised by men of old and renowned among the gods, the gods learn about the man who is the descendant of that *ṛṣi*, thinking, 'as his descendant, his sacrificial food may be enjoyed'.

5. *But if a man chooses by means of the ārṣeya of another, that ṛṣi takes the offering and the enjoyment—thus is it known.*

If a sacrificer is of one gotra, and makes the pravara-invitation by means of the *ārṣeya* of another gotra, that *ṛṣi* seizes the offering, i.e. the fruit of the sacrifice, and the enjoyment, i.e. the fruit of entertaining Brahmans, etc.

[1] *āpastambādi*, presumably to include Hiraṇyakeśi.

[2] So P1; Ed. *guhadevasvāmi-*; P2 *grahasvāmi-devasvāmi-viśvasvāmi-*. Long sections of Puruṣottama's text here are in fact taken unaltered from Kapardisvāmin.

6. *Three he chooses; authors of hymns he chooses; according to (his own) ṛṣi does he choose authors of Vedic hymns—thus is it known.*

Authors here means seers, since it is not permissible to conclude that these hymns were composed, because, if they had been, the inference would be that they were not eternal. These seers of Vedic hymns he chooses according to whichever *ṛṣi* is his (ancestor).

7. *Now, the opinion of some is: he chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five—thus is it known.*

Now, it is heard in the Scriptures of the adherents of certain *śākhās*: he chooses one *ārṣeya*, i.e. having recited the name of one *ṛṣi* he chooses the fire which is his descendant. Similarly with two and three. Four he does not choose; and six and over he does not choose. The meaning is: the fact of having been a seer of Vedic hymns is specifically prescribed above as the requisite qualification for being included in the *ārṣeya*-formula. Therefore, since the choosing without restriction of number of one's hymn-seeing ancestors would otherwise be legitimate, they for this reason delineate in the present sūtra the prohibition of choosing four or more than five. Since the sūtra, 'He chooses one connected with the *ṛṣis*', has already prescribed the choosing, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, seeing that the three sentences: 'He chooses one; he chooses two; he chooses three', prescribe in addition the number, have had recourse to this passage of Scripture as an authority. The previously quoted passage: 'Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc.', gives only the prescription for the choosing of three.

Now, the reverend teacher, learned in sacrificial rules (Jaimini), in defining competency to sacrifice, in his sixth chapter, with reference to the present sūtra has described this competency in the rule: 'The person who does not have three *ṛṣis* should be excluded (from the competency)';[1] since he considered that, of the other sentences in this sūtra, one denoted merely the commencement ('he chooses one'), one was a partial declaration ('he chooses two'), and one was a prohibition ('not four, not more than five').[2] But because the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are many, and because of the fact that they are composing practical treatises, whereas Jaimini is a single authority—and where there is a conflict of opinion between many and one, the opinion of the many is to be followed—for this reason those who seek the practical view have followed the authors of the treatises on Vaidik practice.

[1] Pūrva-mīmāṃsā 6. 1. 43. The phrase in brackets does not appear in the Mīmāṃsā text.

[2] This explanation appears only in the commentaries to the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras. Śavarasvāmin takes the choosing of one and two as an analysis of the choosing of three into its component parts, so that the rule of choosing three would thus be stated twice.





8. *The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the far end the nearer ones—thus is it known.*

9. *A king makes the pravara-invitation (pravṛṇīte) by means of the pravara of his purohita—thus is it known.*

The purohita of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is so called because he, being in front (*puraḥ*), leads that anointed Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. Such a man must be one who offers the *Darvī-homa*, and must be endowed with high birth, knowledge, good conduct, and other good qualities. By the pravara of this man, then, an anointed king makes the pravara-invitation. And because of the statement here, in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, even a Brahman who has attained kingship makes the pravara-invitation by means of his purohita's pravara.

(Colophon: ...end of the Paribhāṣā section...of Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha, etc.)

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

1. *Now therefore we shall explain the pravaras.*
2. *On this matter there is a Brāhmaṇa-passage: 'He chooses the one connected with the ṛṣis; he does not depart from the connection; and so it conduces to continuity.'*
3. *He chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five.*

The Brāhmaṇa-passage which deals with the choosing of the *ārṣeya* in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices has already been quoted and explained above in the comment on Baudhāyana's Great Pravara-section: 'Next he recites the pravara of *ṛṣi*-names, etc.'[1] In explaining the meaning of this passage, Kātyāyana[2] has spoken as follows: '"The wise and knowing one", he says; he recites the *ārṣeyas* (*ārṣeyāṇi*) of the sacrificer, as, "like Manu, like Bharata, like NN., like NN."—three, from the further end the nearer ones; or else as many as are hymn-composers.' The scriptural passage which is the source of the view: 'Three, from the further end the nearer ones', has been quoted above, viz. 'Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc.' He now quotes here from another *śākhā* the passage which is the origin of the view: 'As many as are hymn-composers', viz. 'He chooses one, two, three, not four and not more than five'. This passage, which we have already discussed in our commentary on Āpastamba, means: he who has only one hymn-composer in his ancestry chooses that one; similarly for two, three, and five. But he who has four, or six or more, does not choose these numbers even if he has them. And that those who have such and such a number (one, two, three, or five) should not choose less or more, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are guarantors, in the absence of other (i.e. Brāhmaṇa) authority. It has already been stated above how the authors of Kalpa Sūtras rely on this passage as an authority.

[1] ŚB 1. 4. 2. 3; above, p. 60.

[2] KŚS 3. 25ff.

4. *However, the view of some is: in each case he chooses the ārṣeya as 'Mānava, like Manu'—an ārṣeya which is common to all the varṇas. Why so? Because the peoples are Mānavans (humans).*[1]

The word *however* puts forward another opinion. The *some* are the adherents of the Tāṇḍin School of the Chandogas. The Hotṛs choose a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Mānava', the Adhvaryus choose, 'like Manu'—this pravara which exists among all the varṇas he recites. Alternatively, the sentence is to be completed by understanding the words 'so they conduct their worship', i.e. 'some, the adherents of the Tāṇḍin School, choose thus'. He asks the reason for the choice of this one-*ṛṣi* Mānava-pravara—'why so?' (*kasya hetoḥ*), i.e. 'from what cause?' (*kuto hetoḥ*)—since the genitive is mentioned in the traditional learning in the sense of the ablative, in the sūtra: 'Genitive in the sense of causal connection.'[2] The reason is, 'because the peoples are Mānavans', i.e. since Manu is the first origin of all peoples, and another Brāhmaṇa-passage says 'He chooses one', therefore the peoples choose him alone. These members of the three higher varṇas, who alone have the right to a pravara, who have birth (*jāti*), competence to sacrifice, wealth, and who are not excepted by the Śāstras—these are to be considered to be connoted by the word *peoples*.

To refute this view of the Tāṇḍins, he quotes another Brāhmaṇa-passage:

5. *But this is not legitimate; not by gods, not by men does he choose the ārṣeya; by ṛṣis only does he choose the ārṣeya.*

This Brāhmaṇa too has been explained in the commentary to Āpastamba. Moreover, by reasoning also do learned men refute the Tāṇḍin view. For on this view there would be no intermarriage between the three higher varṇas, since they would all have the same pravara. The consequence of marriage would be a mixing of the varṇas (*varṇasāṃkarya*); and since (in the alternate case) there would result a sin equal to violating one's teacher's wife and begetting a Caṇḍāla, utter destruction would be entailed, by reason of the loss of Brahmanhood.

6. *If a man chooses the ārṣeya of another, the blessing of his sacrifice goes to that other; he indeed is severed from plants, trees, pitṛs, ṛṣis and men, who chooses others.*

If a man, having a particular *ārṣeya*, makes the pravara-recitation by means of the *ārṣeya* of another different from his own, the fruit of that sacrifice goes to that other, i.e. the other alone enjoys it. Moreover, he is severed, i.e. cut off from the fruit of sacrifice which is brought about by gods, *ṛṣis*, *pitṛs* and men.

Now, to avoid making the rule of the Tāṇḍins unauthoritative, he makes it applicable to a different case:

[1] TS 5. 1. 5. 6. See also TS 1. 5. 1. 3, *tasmān mānavyaḥ prajāḥ*.
[2] Pāṇini 2. 3. 26.





7. *But this rule is valid for people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas.*

The Tāṇḍin rule is unexceptionable when applied to people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, i.e. to Vaiśyas. For here the fault of having the same pravara does not arise, since for Vaiśyas there is no necessity for avoiding (particular persons in marriage), this being as it were a partial relaxation of the rule. Because of the identity of the pravara of their varṇa, viz. 'Vātsapri' for the Hotṛ, 'like Vatsapri' for the Adhvaryu, the fault of having the same pravara clearly applies to Brahmans alone. Hence it is with reference to Brahmans alone that the pravaras of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu, of one, two, three, or five *ṛṣi*-names, are to be explained.

He now deals with the difference in order when more than one are to be chosen:

8a. *From this point onward (ita evordhvaṃ) it is the Hotṛ who recites the pravara-invitation, and following him (anvag iti) the Adhvaryu:*

—thus Kātyāyana.

8b. *The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones (ita evordhvān), from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ.*

This is the only difference in Laugākṣi's text; all the rest is the same.

First Kātyāyana. From here, i.e. after having enunciated the duty of pravara, onwards, the Hotṛ makes the pravara-invitation of Bhṛgu and the other seers of hymns, as: 'O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.' Following him the Adhvaryu. The Adhvaryu makes the recitation following the order of the Hotṛ's pravara. The word *iti* shows that the order is precisely the same—as: 'Like Bhṛgu, like Cyavana, like Apnavāna, like Ūrva, like Jamadagni.' So, too, the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Vājins which prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara says:[1] 'He makes the pravara-recitation from the remote end hitherwards.' And Kātyāyana himself says:[2] 'He recites the *ārṣeyas* (*ārṣeyāṇi*) of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards.'

Now the explanation in the case of Laugākṣi's reading.[3] 'From the far end, the nearer ones the Hotṛ' is the same as Kātyāyana and the others, the distinction lying in the words: 'From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu.' In contrast to the Hotṛ's pravara, the Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, beginning at the end, as far as the *ṛṣi* who is the founder (of the family), as: 'Like Jamadagni, like Ūrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.' Here all the teachers have the same order for the pravara of the Hotṛ; all except Kātyāyana have the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara, but Kātyāyana gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's.

[1] ŚB 1. 5. 1. 10. [2] KŚS 3. 25.
[3] All three sources have the most extraordinary confusion in the following passage. The sense must be as above. For 'ita evordhvaṃ hotā' of the manuscripts, I have read 'amuto 'rvāco hotā'; and for 'amuto 'rvāco hotā (P 1 'dhvaryur) ity atra viśeṣaḥ',—'ita evordhvān adhvaryur ity atra v.' In the following line also, 'amuto 'rvāco 'dhvaryuḥ pravṛṇīte' must be changed to 'ita evordhvān adhv. pravṛṇīte'.

### D. *Āśvalāyana*

The explanation follows the views of the commentator Devasvāmin.

1. *'All should be of the same gotra' is the opinion of Gāṇagāri; for how (otherwise) could there be Āprī hymns, how the Fore-offerings?*[1]

The Śrauta sacrifices have already been described (in Āśvalāyana's Sūtra), ending with the *sattras*. In the course of these the pravaras, for each separate gotra of the Brahmans, whose gotras number three *koṭis*, have been prescribed as a duty: 'He chooses the *ārṣeya*, he chooses one...not more than five.' The plurality of sacrificers in the *sattras* is given by inference by the plural endings of the verbs 'sit' and 'approach' in such passages as: 'Desirous of prosperity they sat down at a *sattra*', and 'Let them approach', and directly by the number in the passage: 'Twenty-four at most should sit down at a *sattra*.' And among a plurality there can be either men of the same gotra or men of different gotras. This being so, the doubt arises with regard to those entitled to take part in a *sattra* as to whether they should all be of the same gotra or of different gotras. Here the teacher Gāṇagāri was of the opinion that they should all be of the same gotra. Here one should compare Baudhāyana's definition of gotra: 'Of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, if only one *ṛṣi* is repeated in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.' Considering then in his mind gotra and sameness of gotra, and having stated the case in the words: 'All should be of the same gotra', he gives the reason—'For how (otherwise) could there be Āprī hymns, how the Fore-offerings?'

The meaning is: the Āprī hymns are ordered according to gotra—'Kindled is Agni' for the Śunakas, 'Rejoice in our fuel-log' for the Vasiṣṭhas, 'Kindled to-day' for all (the others).[2] So also, 'The Nārāśaṃsa is the second fore-offering in the case of the Vasiṣṭhas, Śunakas, Atris, Vādhryaśvas, etc.' Since these, then, are ordered according to gotra, and are thus prevented from proper performance on the view that the worshippers should be of different gotras, therefore, they have their correct performance only on the view that they are of the same gotra.

The objection is raised: Why should the fore-offerings and the Āprī hymns not be repeated (in the forms severally required) as is in fact the case with the pravaras? No, we reply, since in the case of men of the same gotra, the act can be successfully performed without repetition, and since there is no repetition in the ceremony which serves as a model (*prakṛti*); and therefore the same should hold good here. We shall have more to say below about the case of the pravaras. Moreover, if there were a repetition according to gotra, the result would be

[1] Müller (*Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 467) gives the startling explanation that Gāṇagāri 'endeavoured to prove from the fact that one and the same Āprī hymn *may* be used by all, that all people belong really and truly to one family'.

[2] This is a literal quotation of ĀŚS 3. 2. 6. The hymns are respectively RV 2. 3; 7. 2; 10. 110.





a confusion of the order of the constituent parts of the rite: since the order is fixed, in which they perform the functions of householder, Brahmā, Udgātṛ, Hotṛ, Adhvaryu, and sacrificer. This (prima facie view) being therefore established, he now gives the correct view (*siddhānta*).

2. *'They may also be of different gotras' is the view of Śaunaka—because of the universality of the ritual acts.*

This means, they may be also of different gotras and not necessarily of the same gotra. Why? Because of the universality of the ritual acts (*tantra*). By the word *tantra* is meant the application of the mantras in regard to the principal ceremony with its subsidiary parts. This universality results from the fact that 'at a *sattra* they should desire the fruits of wealth, prosperity, heaven, etc.'; and here the universality refers simply to 'men' (and not to 'men of the same gotra'). If, by way of illustration, we adopt the hypothesis that the prescription is to be restricted to reference to 'men of the same gotra' only, then we should have to assume that the right to perform the principal rite was similarly restricted, without any verbal indication of the fact. And this is not proper. It is, however, faultless in another connection, which he now proceeds to describe:

3. *Those which are different follow (the mode of ritual proper to) the gotra of the householder; the benefit of all follows on his benefit; but the pravaras should be repeated (according to the several gotras), since they have the right to (separate) fires (āvāpa).*

Those which are different, i.e. the Āprī hymns, etc., which were cited by Gāṇagāri to uphold his thesis, are to be performed according to the gotra of the householder, since he is the chief person. This is seen from expressions such as: 'With him at their head they sat down at a *sattra*', and from Āpastamba's phrase: 'All are to perform their first sacrifice; or else that of the householder alone (is to be performed)'; and 'They are to proceed according to the mode of ritual of the householder, in respect of the Sāmidhenīs, the cutting of the sacrificial cake, and anything else of a similar sort.' With these two sūtras he shows that these acts which are different according to gotra follow the gotra of the householder, and therefore there is no obstacle. But, it is objected, if subsidiary parts of the rite are performed according to the householder's gotra, those for whom such parts were wrong would not obtain the fruit of the acts. To remove this doubt, he says, 'the benefit of all follows on his benefit', that is, the others obtain the fruit of the acts following after the fruit attained by the householder, since he is the chief person.

But when men of different gotras are sacrificing, the pravaras are to be repeated according to gotra. Why so? Because they have the right to *āvāpas*, i.e. because they have the right to the pravaras. The word *āvāpa* means the Āhavanīya fires, since (oblations) are cast into them: compare the expression 'they should offer

together into the fire'.[1] The meaning is therefore: 'Because of the right of these Āhavanīya fires in respect of the pravaras.' And it is proper that these pravaras should be severally repeated, according to which person happens to occupy the chief position, since those taking part hold that position successively in the various constituent parts of the rite.

But, it is objected, does this not contradict what has been said above, namely, that differences in ritual usage should be resolved by following the usage of the householder's gotra? No fault, however, arises here, since the essence of the pravaras is to inform the Āhavanīya fires by the recital of names related as offspring to the seven *ṛṣis*; and it has already been shown above in the commentary on Baudhāyana that when informed by the pravaras, the Āhavanīyas bear the oblation to the gods. Now, if in the present instance, only the pravara of the householder were used, and not those of the other sacrificers who happened to belong to, say, the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotras, then their Āhavanīya fires would not be informed, and would not carry their oblation to the gods. To accomplish this end, therefore, it is proper to repeat the pravaras separately, according to the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotra, etc. Moreover, the householder's Āhavanīya is not the Āhavanīya of the others, just as his son is not their son; since the word 'Āhavanīya' equally with the word 'son' expresses a relationship. For this reason, if a man's own Āhavanīya is extinguished, he does not perform an oblation in the Āhavanīya of another. For this reason also substitution for the Āhavanīya is prohibited in the sixth book (of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras),[2] in the chapter on substitution: '(There is no substitution allowed) in the case of the deity, the fire, the word, the action, because (a substitute for any of these would be) related to a different purpose.' Thus, it is correctly said that in the case of men of different gotras, the pravaras are severally repeated. The question then arises, whether men of the same gotra should also severally repeat their pravaras in such circumstances. Some hold that since no 'difference' is in question, the pravaras should be performed according to the normal rule. Others support the repetition, on the grounds that men of different gotras are separated in this matter; and also because the result of a single pravara-recitation, where they each hold the position of sacrificer in turn, would be a defect in the order of the rite. So, too, Āpastamba:[3] 'One view is that, because men of different gotras are separated, men of the same gotra should also repeat their several pravara-recitations.'

[1] Puruṣottama gives two alternative etymologies, which, however, both result in the same meaning: *upyanta ity āvāpā āhavanīyā 'agniṃ samāvapeyuḥ' iti vacanāt*; *atha vā, upyante havīṃṣy āhavanīyeṣv ity āvāpā āhavanīyāḥ*.

[2] Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, 6. 3. 18; cf. ĀpŚS 24. 4. 1: *svāmino 'gner devatāyāḥ śabdāt karmaṇaḥ pratiṣedhāc ca pratinidhir nivṛttaḥ*.

[3] ĀpŚS 21. 3. 4. The Sūtra continues: *vyavete 'pi tantram evety aparam*, 'The other view is that in spite of this separation, the rule holds good.'





# CHAPTER II

## THE BHṚGUS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

FIRST we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus:

1. [Vātsyā]
2. Mārkaṇḍeyā
3. Māṇḍūkeyā
4. Māṇḍavyāḥ
5. Kāṃsaya
6. Ālekhanā
7. Dārbhāyaṇāḥ
8. Śārkarākṣyā
9. Daivatāyanāḥ
10. Śaunakāyanā
11. Mādhukeyāḥ
12. Pārṣikāḥ
13. Sānkāḥ
14. prāntāyanāḥ
15. Pailāḥ
16. Paingalāyanā
17. dādhreṣayo
18. Bāhyakayo
19. Vaiśvānarayo
20. Vaihīnarayo
21. Virohitā
22. Bārhā
23. Gausṭhāyanā
24. †yaṣṭeṣayaḥ
25. Kāśakṛtsnā
26. vāgbhūtayā
27. Ṛtabhāgā

1 In Ed. only; D jamadagnyā vatsāḥ; the name is out of place here, occurring as it does at the end of the list, and is clearly a heading borrowed from the other lists.
3 So A; M, G, Bu, Caland māṇḍūkā; S māḍhakā; T māṃḍakā; P2 mā' vyā; Sk omits.
5 So G, T, Ed., R; M kāṃsava; Bu kāṃsya; Rm, Be, U, D1 kāṃseya; P2 kāśeya; P1 kāsaya; D2 kāsirā; Sk in place of this and the following, pailāḥ paingalāyanāḥ, cf. 15 and 16; after this name P2 adds kāsaṃsaya.
6 P1 larecanā.
7 Cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 102; M, Bu darbh-.
8 So P1, Sk, R, S, M, T, Bu, Be, U; cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; Caland, G, Ed., P2, D -kṣā; Caland wrongly reports R as reading -kṣā.
9 So Bu, U, R, Sk, Rm; P1 daiveta(ṃ)yana; others, devaṃtāyana, daivaṃtāyana. But see Index.
10 Cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 102.
11 So D2; Ed., P2, D1, Rm, mādhū-; M, G, Sk, S, Caland māṇḍūkeyāḥ; Bu maṃḍūkeyā; T omits; cf. mādhuki in Śatapatha-Br.
12 So Ed., M, G, Bu, R, P2; P1, D2, S vārṣika; D1 pārṣṇika; Sk ṣāṣīka; T omits.
13 So B, Be, U (joined, however, with the following, sāṃka-); P2, R sāṃkāḥ; P1 śāṃkāḥ; Ed., S sāṃ- only; Sk sākāṃ-.
14 So Bu (Caland reports vrā-, but, noting that Bu is a grantha manuscript, it is an easy mistake for prā-); Caland compares gaṇa *aśvādi* (15. 59); Ed., P2, D prabhāyanāḥ; P1 prajayanāḥ; Rm, Sk prāttāyana; R prāktayanāḥ; S tathāyanāḥ; Be, U ghnāntāyana; M, G ghrāntāyana.
16 P1 paingalāḥ yanāḥ; S pailāyanā.
17 So M, G, T, R Caland; Bu dāḍreṣayaḥ; Be dādreṣakākayo; U, Ed., D1 dādhreṣakayo; P2 dādhreṣayā (?); R dāpreṣayo; P1 rādhredyakayo; D2 rādhreṣṭhikiḥ; Sk dādhreyakāḥ; S dadhreṣakayo; Rm dārdhveṣakayo (v.l., dādhreṣakayo); one might possibly conjecture dādhṛṣayo, or dādhīcayo (from dadhyañc, the latter being regularly found with the patronymic ātharvaṇa, while the form dādhīcaḥ is given by the *PañcBr.* as a patronymic to Cyavana).
18 bā- and vā- indiscriminately; S omits; after this name, Sk adds payaḥ in a correction.
19 P -narayau; Sk vaiśvatari.
20 So M, T, R, P1, Ed., D1; D2 vaihi-; P2 vaihīnatayo; Sk vaihitari; Be, U vaihītarayo; Bu vaihīnarāḥ; G vaibhīnarayo; S vaihītakayo.
21 D2 viroḍina; D1 vilohitaḥ.
22 So M, P1 (vā-), D1; G barhā; Bu barbhāḥ; Ed., Sk, Be, U bāhyā; R vāhyā; D2 vahva (?); after this name, Sk adds vṛddhāḥ, Rm brādhno (v.l. bādhrā); P1 vradhra, D2 bradhra.
23 B, Caland gauṣṭrāyaṇā; P1, D2 goṣṭāyana; Sk, D1 goṣṭhāyana; Ed, R gaubjāyana; P2 gaujvāyaṇā; Be, U kaukāyanā.
24 So B; Caland conjectures aiṣṭeṣayaḥ; S yaṣṭaisakayo; Be, U, P1 ṣṭ(h)aikeyā; Ed., P2, R ṣṭaikayaḥ; Sk ṭīkapāḥ; D1 seṣiḥ; D2 ṭikiḥ.
25 Ed., P2 kāsa-; P1 kāraśākṛsnā; D2 kārātkṛṣṇa; R saikāśakṛtsnā.
26 So Caland, G, T; M vātbhū-; Bu vārkabhū-; Be, U, bāhūtakā; P1, D1, S, Rm vādbhutakā; Ed., D2 vādbhūtakā; P2 vāhūtakā; R vāḍūtakā; Sk vāḍbhṛtakā.
27 P2, R, Sk, Rm, D1 kṛta-; Be, U kṣata-.

28. Aitiśāyanā
29. Jānāyanā
30. Pāṇinir
31. Vālmīkiḥ
32. Sthaulapiṇḍayaḥ
33. Śaikhāvatā
34. Jihītayaḥ
35. Sāvarṇir
36. Vākāyanā
37. Bālāyanāḥ
38. Saukṛtayo
39. Maṇḍavit
40. Sauviṣṭayo
41. Hastyagnayaḥ
42. Śauddhakayo
43. Vaikarṇā
44. †draupajihvā
45. Auraśayaḥ
46. Kāmbalodarayaḥ
47. Kāṭhorakṛd
48. Vaihalayo
49. Virūpākṣā
50. Vṛkāśvā
51. Uccairmanyavo
52. Daivamatyā
53. Ārkāyaṇā
54. Mārkāyaṇāḥ
55. Kāhvāyanā
56. Vāyavāyaninaḥ
57. Śārṅgaravāḥ
58. [kārabavāś]

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28 P1 rohiśāyana; cf. gaṇa *naḍādi*.
29 So T, Bu, P, Ed., D1, R; Be, U, Sk jāt-; Rm jñān-; M jāṇ-; G jānt-; cf. gaṇa *aśvādi*.
30 D2 yāṇibhiḥ. Note the singular in this name and the next; they are conceivably interpolations, but early ones, cf. Mān. and K. & L, p. 86, nos. 19 and 22*a*.
33 So M, G, Caland; T śaukh-; Bu śaikhāmitāḥ; S śaikhavādā; Be, U sauṣāvatā; Ed., P1 saiṣātavā; D1 sauṣātavaḥ; D2 sauṣātana; Sk saupātava; R saipātava; Rm saivātavā; P2 saiṣāṃtavā; cf. Mān. no. 36 śaiṣāpatya.
34 So Be, U, R, P, S, Rm; Ed. jīhī-; Sk, T, D jihi; G jihva; M jihvatīyaḥ; Bu jigītayaḥ; after this P1 adds ṇhāṃ(?)-varodayakacoghṛ-.
35 Note the singular.
36 So S, A (P2 kāyana only); M bākāyaṇā; G bārkāyaṇā; T bākāyanā; Bu śākāyana; Caland's comparison of Mān. vākāyani is doubtful.
37 bā- and vā- indiscriminately; D1 val-; D2 bal-; S vān-.
38 D sukṛtiḥ.
39 So B, P2; P1, S mandavi; R, Sk, Ed. mandavaḥ; D maṇḍuḥ.
40 So A (D su-; P2 sauvistuyo); M, G, T sauviṣṭapayo; Bu sauviṣṭakṛpayāḥ; S śauvistayo.
41 So Be, U, P1; Ed., D, Sk hastāgnayas; P2 hassagnayo hastāgrayaḥ; R hasrāgnayaḥ; M gastyagnayaḥ; G, T hastyagnayaḥ; Bu agastyaghnayaḥ; S hastyaghnayaś.
42 So M, G, T; P1, Ed. sau-; P2 śaudvākāyaḥ saudvākayau sauhvākayo; Sk śauvakayo śaudvākayo; R śauddhākayaḥ (saudvākayo); D1 sauddhakiḥ saudvakiḥ; D2 saudrakiḥ sauddhakiḥ; Bu saidyakayaḥ; S śaudyakayo; Be, U rauddhakāyo.
43 So S, Bu, Caland, cf. Pān. 4. 1. 117 (but see the other lists); Ed., P, D1, Sk, R -ṇyā; D2 -rkyaḥ; Caland's other manuscripts (not specified by him) vaikarṇeyā, vaikarṇayā, vaikarāryā. R misplaces 43–56 after no. 69.
44 So the archetype, with M, T, S; Be, U, P1 dropa-; Ed., P2, D1 droṇa-; G, Caland aupa-; Bu maupa-; Sk, Rm droṇaka-; R droka-; D2 drokajidriḥ.
45 So B; A -sa- (Ed. arasayaḥ); the text of the gaṇa-pāṭha also regularly has the variants -sa- and -śa- wherever derivatives of this name occur.
46 So D1, Caland, cf. K. & L.; Sk kam-; D2 kāmbatvodarayaḥ; M, G, T, Ed. kāmbarodarayaḥ; Bu kāmbano-; Be, U kāmbodayaḥ; S kāmbodarayaḥ; P1 kāṃvarodayaḥ; R kāverodayaḥ; P2 omits.
47 So M, G, T, S, D2; D1 kaṭhorakṛta-; Ed. kāmborakṛd; P2 kāṃvorakṛd; P1 kacoraṣṭad; Bu kāṭhakṛd; Rm, Sk vākārakṛtau; R kāmbodakṛto.
48 Singular, except R, Sk; after 48, Sk adds sāṃkā vāhāḥ kāstambarāḥ kāravās tāmasāḥ.
49 U vairūpākṣā; Be vairūpākṣya.
50 D1 vṛvāśva; P2 vṛhvoś ca; R vṛddhakāśva.
52 So B (G -martyā); P1 deva-; Ed., D1, Be, U, P2, R, Sk dvai-; D2 dvau-.
53 So B, cf. K. & L.; A āryāyaṇā (Ed. aryā-).
54 Sk yārk-.
55 G kāṇvā-; T kamba-.
56 So M, G, Bu, Caland; T vāyavośvadhananaḥ; Be, U vāyavāyaṃyāyanāḥ; P1 vayakavāvāyāninaḥ; Ed. vāyavā vayanīna; Sk vāpanayaḥ vāyaninaḥ; R yāyavāyaninaḥ; D2 vāyavāniḥ; D1 and P2 agree in inserting three names (by dittography of 52–4), D1 vāyavaḥ daivamatyaḥ ārkāyaṇaḥ kānkāyanaḥ vāyaniḥ; P2 vāyavā ārkayaṇāḥ kākāyanā vāyāninaḥ; S vāyavāpanayaś.
57 So D2, S, Rm; Pāṇ. 4. 1. 73 (cf. K. & L., and the name of the disciple in the Śakuntalā); P1, Ed., Caland śāṃkaravāḥ; M, G, T śāṃkaravaḥ; Bu śāṃkavaḥ; Be, U śāṃkarāśvāḥ; P2 śākaravaś; Sk śārḍaravāḥ (not śārṇa- as reported by Caland); R vāś only; D1 omits. (Note, however, that Mān. has śānkarava.)
58 Omitted by S, D2, P2, Be, U, Sk, Rm, R; probably merely dittography of preceding; D1 karaba-; P1 kāravacaḥ; G kārabava-; T kārabahū-; Bu kāraśvabaḥ; M kārabarhaḥ; Ed. khaṇḍavas; Caland's comparison of Kālabava (Āpast. among the Viśvāmitras) is improbable.





59. Cāndramasā
60. Gāngeyā
61. Ānūpeyā
62. Yājñeyā
63. Jābālir
63*a*. Pārimaṇḍalir
64. Bāhumitrāyaṇā
65. Āpiśalayo
66. Vaiṣṭapureyā
67. Lauhitāyanā
68. Uṣṭrākṣā
69. Nāḍāyanāḥ
70. Śāradvatāyanā
71. Rājitavāhā
72. Vatsā
73. Vātsyāyanā iti

These are Vatsas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc.

1. Bidāḥ-Śailā
2. Avaṭāḥ-Śailāḥ
3. Prācīnayogyā
4. Abhayajātāḥ
5. Kāndarathayo
6. Vaidabhṛtāḥ
7. Pulastaya
8. [Ārkāyaṇā]
9. [Mārkāyaṇā]
10. Nāṣṭrāyaṇāḥ
11. Krauñcāyanā
12. Bhuñjāyanā
13. Jāmalāyanā iti

These are Bidas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida', etc.

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59 So T, Be, U, Sk, P2 (and implied by D); P1, Ed., S, R, M, G, Bu -maso.
61 Conj.; S anūpeyā; B anupeyā; Be, U, R, D2 naupeya; P2, Ed., D1 nopeya; P1 nauṣeya; Sk laupeya; Rm naudheyā.
62 Restored from other lists; R, Sk, P yājñiyā; Ed. yājñīyā; B, D yājñikā.
63 So Ed., D, Sk; P1 jav-; P2 yāvanir; R vyāvalir; B omits.
63*a* So B; A omits; it seems unlikely that either of these names (63 and 63*a*) could have been substituted in mistake for the other; K. & L. testifies to the claim of the latter name, Āpast. perhaps to that of the former.
64 Sk -āryaṇā.
65 So A, cf. gaṇa 67. 4; B āpi(vi)śāleyo; S āpijñaleyo; D āpiśāliḥ.
66 P1 -ṣṭha; Sk caiṣapuravo; D viṣṭapuriḥ.
67 So P2, R; others loh-; S, Be, U (Caland's citation of Be, U may possibly be an error for Bu), roh-.
68 D2 udamṛksaḥ.
69 So Caland; B nāḷ-; A māl-; Pāṇ. 4. 1. 99; again doubtful, since Mān. gives mālāyana against K. & L. nālāyana, Matsya nāḍāyana (no. 5), while the latter two have māḷāyana as well (no. 57).
70 So G, T, Bu, S, Be, U, Sk, D; P2, Ed. -vant-; M, T śaṭhadva-; P1 śādhatāyenā; R śārḍūradvaṃtāyanā.
71 So B, R, S; Ed., D1 rājata-; D2, Sk, Rm rajata-; P1, Be, U rāhajita-; P2 rāhatita-.
72 Ed. vāsā; S vānā; P1 vaśā; D1 vāsaḥ vatsaḥ; rest, vatsā.
73 S vātyāḥ.

1 P1 vidheśailā.
2 P1 avayaḥ-; P2 āvaṭā-; P1, Bu, D, Sk omit śailāḥ; it appears, however, in P2, Ed., R, B (except Bu).
3 R -ṇegyā.
4 So B, cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; Be, U, R, Sk, P2, Rm -dānāḥ; P1 ābhayadayaḥ dātāḥ; D, S abhayadātaḥ; Ed. abhavadāta; cf. the other lists.
5 P1 kāḍasyayo; S kaṭeravayo.
6 Corrected by Caland according to Mān.; cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; B, P2 vaita-; Be, U, Sk, D1 vaina-; R vena-; P1 vainamṛta; Ed. vaitabhṛtayaḥ; D2 vainamṛyiḥ.
7 So B, Ed., P2, D, R; Be, U, Sk -styaḥ; P1 -ssayaḥ.
8 So all (except R omits); Caland suggested that this and the following have come in by mistake from the Vatsas (above, nos. 53, 54).
9 B only; all of A, and Bu, omit.
10 So B; D1 tāṣṭrāyaṇaḥ; D2 nāchāyavāḥ tagrāvaṇaḥ; Sk, Rm nāṣṭrāyaṇaḥ tāmrāyaṇā; P1 tāgnāyanās; P2, Ed., R tāmrāyana (R with dental -n-).
11 P1 tākraucā-; P2 kroñcā-; Sk -yaśāḥ; D1 krauyanaḥ; D2 krauñcāyanaḥ.
12 So B; Be, U muñjā-; S bhujangāyanā; p, D, R, Sk omit.
13 So Be, U, Caland, cf. Āpast.; possibly we should read jāmā-, cf. jamālin, the name of the son-in-law of the Jain leader Mahāvīra; M jālo; G jāmalā; T jamalā; Bu bodhāḥ bhārgavāḥ (presumably a colophon which has ousted the correct reading, e.g. baudhāyanoktā bhārgavāḥ); Ed. lāmalā; P1 nālāmalā; D1, P2, Sk kāmalāḥ; S jāmājāḥ; D2 jā(?)malāḥ. In addition to the reading here, P1 inserts in the K. & L. list of Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, after mārgapathā, 'kāmalā ity ato (read ete) vidāḥ teṣāṃ pañcārṣeyaḥ...vaideti'.

1. Ārṣṭiṣenā
2. Nairathayo
3. Grāmyāyaṇayaḥ
4. Kāṇvāyanāś
5. Cāndrāyaṇāḥ
6. Prauḍhakalāyanāḥ
7. Siddhāḥ
8. Sumanāyanā
9. Gaurāmbhir
10. Āmbhir iti

These are Ārṣṭiṣeṇas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa', etc.

The Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣēṇas have no intermarriage. They have a fivefold cutting of the sacrificial cake.[1]

1. Yaskā
2. Mauno
3. Mūko
4. Vādhūlo
5. Varṣapuṣpo
6. Bāleyo
7. Rājitatāyino
8. Durdino
9. Bhāskaro
10. Jaivantāyano
11. Vārkaleyo
12. Mādhyameyā
13. Vāśayaḥ
14. Kauśāmbeyāḥ
15. Kauṭilyāḥ
16. Satyakaś
17. Citrasenā
18. Bhāgantayo
19. Vārkāśvakaya
20. Aukthā
21. †aurgacitayo
22. bhāguritthaya iti

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D atha kevalabhṛgavaḥ.
1 R athājamadagnyārṣṭiṣeṇā; P1 ārṣipeṇā.
2 P2 nairatheyo; Sk, Rm nairṛthayo; S nairadhayo.
3 So Rm, R; cf. gaṇa *tikādi*; B, Be, U, D1, Sk, S -yaṇāḥ; D2 -yanaḥ; P -yaṇaḥ; Ed. yāmyāyanayaḥ.
4 ? M, T kāṇvaya; G kāṇvayā; Bu kaṇvakaḥ; Be, U kāmyāyanā; R, Rm kārṇāyanās; P1 kāraṇāyunāś; Ed., D2 kāṇāyanā; P2, D1 kātyāyanaḥ; Sk kāṇāyaṇā; S omits.
5–8 Ed. omit.
5 D1 tvāndrā-.
6 So M, G, T, Caland; Be, U, R, P, Rm pauṭa-; Sk paiṭha-; D1 paiṭhi-; S poṭa-; D2 pocakul-; Bu pāṇḍakāyanāḥ.
7 D1 sihvaḥ; R sidvaḥ.
8 R mu-; P2 sumanā only; D2 srananāyanāḥ; read sau- ?
9, 10 So P1, Ed., S, M, T; G gaurābhirāmbhi; Bu gaurā only; Be, U gaurāmbhi only; Sk gaurābhiḥ only; P2 gaurāmbhirābhir; R, D1 gaurāmbhiḥ rāmbhiḥ; D2 gaurabhirabhiḥ. For āmbhiḥ, cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi*.

Note the unusually large number of singular forms.
2 So A; M, T mūno; D2 mono; G maunā; Bu amunaḥ.
3 Be muko; G mūkā; S mauko.
4 Ed., P, D1, Sk vādhulo.
5 D1, Ed. -ṣya; D2 varṣamukhyo.
6 So M, T, Bu; G bāḷāyo; S vāleyo; Be, U mātābāhvoyo; Ed., P mātalayo; Rm bhāga lepo; Sk, D bhāgaleyo; R nāgaleyo (cf. bhāgaleya in K. & L.).
7 So B, Ed.; Be, U -tāpino; S rāhitatāyana; P1 rātitatāyino; D1 rājitāpiḥ rodadinaḥ bhāgavijñeyaḥ; D2 rājitādrano (?) bhāgavigleyaḥ (with -vig- deleted); P2 rojitaino; R, Sk, Rm bhāgavijñeyo only (cf. K. & L.).
8 So B, Ed., D, R, Rm; P1 urdino; P2 dadinau; Sk durnido; Be, U durdito; S udāno.
9 P1 -re; S bāskaro.
10 Emended, cf. other lists; M, G, Be, U, D1, R daiv-; P, Ed. daivatāyano; D2 daivaṃ- with anusvāra deleted; S raivantyāyano; Sk, Rm daivajāyano; T devaṃtāyanā; P2 adds mraivantāyano, D1 adds jaivatāyano.
11 So Sk, D2; cf. gaṇa 110, 7; Ed., P vākalayo; Bu bākaleyaḥ; R vārkalaya; D1 vārkarelayaḥ; M bākalayo; S bālakayo; G, T bāṣkalayo; Be, U, Caland bāṣkaleyo.
12 D1 ma-; Sk mādhṛmeyā; S vyādhyameyā.
13 So M, Bu; G, T pāśayaḥ; A vāsayaḥ; S vādāyaḥ.
14 P2 kauśāseyāḥ.
15 So Be, U, Ed., D1; P1, R, Sk, D2 krauvilyāḥ; P2 kauvilyāḥ; M kauṭhilyā; Bu kāṭhilyāḥ; T krauṇṭhilyāḥ; G kaundalyāḥ; S omits; Be, U add saptaveyaḥ krauvilyaḥ (i.e. dittography of nos. 16 and 15); P2 alone of the others adds satyakeyaḥ krauvilyāḥ.
16 So Be, U, M, T, R; P1, Ed., D1 satyakayaḥ (D1 -kiḥ); P2 satyakarmaś; G samyaki-; Bu sasakaḥ; Sk satyakapayaḥ; S satyaka-; D2 saptaki-.
17 Sk vi-.
18–21 Omitted by Ed., P1, Sk, R.
18 D2 bhāskaḥ bhāgatiḥ.

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[1] The last two sentences are omitted by M, G; Be, U have for the second, *teṣāṃ pañcāvattina iti*.





These are Yaskas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvetasa',[1] for the Hotṛ, 'like Savetas, Vītahavya, Bhṛgu' for the Adhvaryu.

1. Mitrayūṇām
2. Rauṣṭyāyanānām
3. Śāyaṇḍīnām
4. Saurāmbhīnām
5. Mālyā
6. Yāvālyā
7. Mahāvālyās
8. Tārkṣyāyaṇā
9. Aurukṣyāyaṇā
10. Vājāyanā
11. Mādāghayaḥ
12. Kaitavāyanā iti

These are Mitrayus. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa', etc.

1. Vainyāḥ
2. Pārthā
3. Bāṣkalāḥ
4. [Śyaitā] iti

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha' for the Hotṛ, 'like Pṛthu, Vena, Bhṛgu' for the Adhvaryu.

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19 So S, Caland, cf. K. & L. vṛkāśvaki; P2 tārkāśvakeya; M, G, T vārkāśvakraya; Be, U vātārkāśvakeya; D1 vākāśvakiḥ; D2 vārkasyakiḥ.
20 So T, D1, Caland; M autthā; G aukṣā; Bu autsyā; D2 austhaḥ (?); P2 auttmā; S aukvā; Be, U omit; cf. gaṇa *kaṇvādi*.
21 So S; P2 aurgucitratayo; G aurgacitrayo; Be, U augaṃcitayo; T aukthitayaḥ (confused with preceding); M aukacitayā; Bu aurgāḥ citayāḥ; D2 urgacittiḥ; D1 urgavitraḥ; Caland conjectures augracitayo.
22 So B; P1 bhāguritṛyā; P2 bhāgurichaya; Ed., D1 bhāgurir nūpa; D2 bhāgurinūpa (rūpa?); S bhāguririddhayaḥ-; Sk bhāguriḥ cchayāḥ; Rm bhāguriś chapo; R nāgurichayo; a common manuscript form of *-tha* is hardly distinguishable from *-cha*.

1 Restored; S -yūnāṃ (dental); M, G, T -yūṇā; Bu mitrāyaṇā; A, Caland mitrayuvo, an impossible form, the plural being -yavaḥ, the singular maitreyaḥ, cf. Pāṇ. 6. 4. 174, gaṇa *gṛṣṭyādi*; P2 -yujo.
2 G rauṣṭryāyaṇāḥ; M, T raugaṃyāyaṇāḥ; Bu raugyāyaṇāḥ; S raukmyāyanānāṃ; Sk raiṣṇāyanāḥ; R rauṣyāyanāḥ; Rm raiṣṭhyānāḥ; P1 raukṣāyaṇāḥ; Ed. rauṣṭyāyanas; D2 raraukṣāyaṇaḥ; for the others, see next note.
3 Conj.; S sā-; M śāyaṇḍīnāḥ; T śāyaṇḍināḥ; Bu śaṇḍīnarāḥ; Ed., Rm sāpiṇḍinaḥ; Sk sāpiṇḍinā; R sāpeṃḍināḥ; D2 sāpiṇḍanaḥ; Caland admits both śāyaṇḍināḥ and sāpiṇḍanāḥ (*sic*) into his text; in Be, U, P2, D1 dittography has confused the text for 2 and 3 (it is surprising that none of the other *A* texts have preserved the dittography); Be, U raukyāyaṇāḥ śāraṃḍinā rauṣṭyāyanā sāpiṇḍāyanāḥ; P2 raukmāyaṇānā ṣāryajanā raukṣāyaṇā raukyāyanāḥ sāpaṇḍināḥ; D1 raukyāyanaḥ nāśāryejanaḥ geṣṭāyanaḥ (i.e. misreading for rauṣṭā-) raukṣāyanaḥ sāpiṇḍinaḥ. P1 adds after 3 tā savetasavat (from preceding pravara).
4 Conj.; G surāṃbhīnā; T, Bu surāmbhinā; M surāṃbhinaśānā; S surātineyo; Ed. purābhināyā; P1 surabhinayor; P2, R, Rm (with Be, U?) surabhineyā; Sk 'rabhineya (with avagraha); D1 surabhitayaḥ; D2 surabhinayo.
5 So A; D2 malmo; M, G, S bālyā; T balyā; Bu balāḥ.
6 So Ed., D1; P2 yāvālyāghā; Be, U, Caland bālyā; M yabālyā; G yabalyā; T yābalyā; Bu yābalāḥ; S bālyā (thus making a second time) yamālyāya-; P1, R, Sk, Rm, D2 omit. The well-known, but none the less peculiar name jābāla may be a Prākritising of some form of this name.
7 -bā-, -vā- indiscriminately; P2, S mahāvālyāyās; D2 mahābālmo.
8 P1 tākṣā-; D2 tārkṣā-.
9 So Be, U, D1; P2 aurakṣāyaṇā; S urakṣāyaṇā; M, G urukṣyāyaṇā; Bu urukṣamāyaṇāḥ; P1, R, Ed., D2 ukṣāyaṇā; this last is added by D1, and (after no. 10) by P2; T, Sk omit.
10 So Be, U, P, R; M, G, T, S, Ed., D1 vāñj-; Bu vārj-; D2 vānā-.
11 So M, G, Caland, cf. gaṇa *upakādi*; T mādāpayaḥ; Bu madārpayaḥ; Be, U mājāyanāḥ; P1 mājāghaya; P2 mājāthayaḥ; Ed. mājādhayaḥ; S māndaśayaḥ; D1 māñjādhiḥ; D2 mājāpiḥ; Sk, R omit.
12 Sk kaitarāyaṇāḥ.

1, 2 M omits.
3 P1 vālkalāḥ; P2 cāṣkalās; Bu pātkalāḥ; T pātkalkā; R (pārthavā) ṣkalāḥ.
4 Only in R (śyaitā), Sk (śyenāḥ), Bu (śvetāḥ), D2 (śyaina); Be, U (śākalāḥ); Rm śaitāḥ.

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[1] Indiscriminately *sāvetasa*, *sāvedasa*; *savetasavat*, *savedasavat*; Be, U have *savedovat*, others *-asavat*. Possibly we should read *savedhas*; cf. the other lists.

1. Śunakā
2. Gārtsamadā
3. Yajñapayaḥ
4. Saugandhayaḥ
5. Khārdamāyanā
6. Gāngāyanā
7. Matsyagandhāś
8. Caukṣāḥ
9. Śrotriyās
10. Taittirīyāḥ
11. †palpūlā iti

These are Śunakas. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Śaunaka', etc.; or else 'Gārtsamada' for the Hotṛ, 'like Gṛtsamada' for the Adhvaryu.[1]

## B. *Āpastamba*

First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus.

The Jāmadagnya-Vatsas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc. Now this pravara belongs, without alteration to

1. Sāvarṇi-
2. Jīvanti-
3. Jāmālya-
4. Aitiśāyana-
5. Vairohitya-
6. Avaṭa-
7. Maṇḍu-
8. Prācīnayogyānām

The Ārṣṭiṣeṇas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa', etc.

1. Vītahavya-
2. Yāska-
3. Vādhūla-
4. Mauna-
5. Maukāḥ

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvedasa', etc.

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3 G, Sk yajñapatayaḥ; D yājñapiḥ; S yapayaḥ; all the others yajñapayaḥ; Caland compares this with the "Laugākṣisūtra" (i.e. P1's reading for K. & L.); see the readings noted on pp. 92, 99. D inverts nos. 2 and 3.
4 So A; M, T sapayaḥ; G saupayaḥ; Bu saurbhakayaḥ; S saumayaḥ.
5 So all (D1 khādarmāyanaḥ) except G, which has kārd-, cf. the other lists.
6 So B (but Bu gāhā-), S, D1; D2, Ed. gārbhāyanāḥ (both with dental); P2 gāgāyanāḥ; P1 gābhāyaṇāḥ; R, Sk gārbhāyaṇāḥ; D1 adds garbhāyaṇaḥ; P2, Be, U add after no. 7, gārbhāyaṇā.
7 D1 mā-; P1 masya-; D2 matsa-.
8 Only in B, S, Be, U; with D1 svaujaḥ; D2 svaijaḥ; cf. the other lists; after this name, Be, U have caitriyāḥ (dittography of following).
10 So A (D2, P2 -riyā; R omits); M, G, T tittiryāḥ; Bu tittarīyaḥ; S tittirayaḥ.
11 So T, G; M, D1 patpūlā; Bu āpatpūlāḥ; Be pitpalā; U vippalā; S patyulā; D2 pratpūla; A omits. (Caland's citation of R and Sk is out of place, and belongs to the K. & L. list, as he surmised.)

3 So P2, D1, Ed.; P1 jāmalya; Garbe, ChRao jābālya; D2 jāmāpta-. Jābālya might be taken to correspond to Jābāli, Baudh. (Vatsas, no. 63 *q.v.*), but it is more probable that we have here the same family as in Baudh. Bidas, no. 13. Note how Āpastamba comprises under the one head of Jāmadagnya-Vatsas families which the other lists distribute between the two separate groups of Vatsas and Bidas. D adds here the curious remark: *bhṛguvad ity ekapravara ity āpastambaḥ*, thus showing that its source was defective.

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[1] Bu alone reads, interestingly, *gārtsamadānām ekārṣeyaḥ gārtsamadeti hotā*, etc. (omitting *vā*) but there seems to be no reason for assuming two groups within the gaṇa.





The Gārtsamada-Śunakas[1] have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Gārtsamada', for the Hotṛ, 'like Gṛtsamada' for the Adhvaryu.[2]

The Vādhryaśva-Mitrayus[3] have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vādhryaśva' for the Hotṛ, 'like Vadhryaśva' for the Adhvaryu.[2]

The Vainya-Pārthas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha', 'like Pṛthu, Vena, Bhṛgu'.

Thus these Bhṛgus have been explained.[4]

## C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus:

| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| | bhṛgūn evāgre vyākhyāsyāmo |
| 1. Bhṛgavo | 1. ... |
| 2. Jamadagnayo | 2. Jāmadagnyā |
| 3. Vatsā | 3. Vātsyā |
| 4. Dārbhir | 4. ... (See below, after no. 44) |
| 5. Nāḍāyanā | 5. ... (See below, after no. 44) |
| 6. Vāgāyana- | 6. ... |
| 7. Ānusātaki- | 7. Ānuśātaki- |
| 8. jaihyati- | 8. †vaihati- |
| 9. Paila- | 9. Paila- |
| 10. Śaunakāyani- | 10. Śaunakāyani- |
| 11. Jīvanti- | 11. Jīvanti- |
| 12. Kāmbalodari- | 12. Kāmbalodari- |
| 13. Vaihīnari- | 13. Vaihīnari- |
| 14. Vairohitya- | 14. Vairohitya- |

---

1–3 of course form a heading for the whole family, the Vatsas being a subdivision of the Jamadagnis (or, as in note 1 below, in apposition to them), while the latter are a subdivision of the Bhṛgus.
4 Cf. Baudh. dārbhāyaṇa.
5 All the sources here, nāl- (but Matsya, nāḍ-); cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 99 (nāḍāyaná), and gaṇa 15. 75 (nā́ḍāyana).
6 P2 vag-; S vād-.
7 Sk श्रैनमानेकर्यां (*sic*); P2 -anāsātaki; Rm. anumātakayo.
8 So P1, Ed., Sk, D2; P2 jailati; D1, Rm jaihmati; R jaihmya(?)tayaḥ.
9 Ed. pala; P2 paula.
10 So P2, cf. Baudh.; P1 -niṃ; Ed. śaunakāryāna.
11 D2 jīvanta; R jīvatayaḥ.
12 So Ed., P, R, Sk (P1 and R -val-).
13 So P1; P2, Ed. vaihānari; R, Rm, Sk, S vaihāyana.
14 So Ed., P2; P1 -tā; R, Sk, D omit.

*Mān.*

3 vatsyā.
9 pailu.
11 jaimanti.
12 kārṣṇodari.
13 vraihīvrāhimati.
14 vairohe.

---

[1] In the original, both names are nom.pl., but it seems much more likely that they are to be understood in apposition rather than as denoting two separate branches of the family. In a very high proportion of the families thus denoted by two names, these two names also occur in the pravara, the remaining pravara-*ṛṣi* being the eponym of the major gotra.

[2] The words *iti hotā, ity adhvaryuḥ* appear in Āpastamba's text only in the case of these one-*ṛṣi* pravaras, as Puruṣottama observes, p. 101.

[3] Ed. *mitrayuvaḥ*; P2, Garbe, *mitrāyuvaḥ*. None of the sources give the correct (Pāṇinean) form, *mitrayavaḥ*; see above, p. 83.

[4] Ed. omits this sentence.

| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 15. †rekhāyani- | 15. †ḷekhyayani- |
| 16. Pārṣati- | 16. †vaiśāki- |
| 17. Vaiśvānari- | 17. Vaiśvānara- |
| 18. Vairūpākṣi- | 18. Vairūpākṣi- |
| | †paukāśeraḷānām |
| 19. Pārṇili- | 19. Pārṇili- |
| 20. Vṛkāśvakānām | 20. Vṛkāśvakānām |
| 21. Uccairmanyu- | 21. Uccairmanyu- |
| 22. sātyakarṇi- | 22. Sāvarṇi- |
| | 22*a*. Vālmīki- |
| | †śeralānāṃ |
| 23. Vaiṣṭapureyi- | 23. Vaiṣṭapureya- |
| 24. Vālāki- | 24. pālākṣi- |
| 25. Taulakeśinām | 25. Taulakeśinām |
| | †asam |
| 26. Ṛtabhāga- | 26. Ṛtabhāga- |
| 27. Ārtabhāga- | 27. Ārttabhāga- |
| 28. Mārkaṇḍeya | 28. Mārkaṇḍeya- |
| 29. Maṇḍu- | 29. Maṇḍu- |
| 30. Māṇḍavya- | 30. Māṇḍavya- |
| | vibhāṇḍaka- |
| 31. Māṇḍūkeya- | 31. Māṇḍūkeya- |
| 32. Ājihīna- | 32.} †arcanāmāṃ |
| 33. Ātithīnāṃ | 33.} |
| 34. †sthaumāṃgori- | 34. †sphenamadbhūti- |
| 35. Sthaulapiṇḍi- | 35. Sthaulapiṇḍi- |
| 36. †saukhabarhi- | 36. †śaiṣāpatya- |
| 37. Śārkarākṣi- | 37. Śārkarākṣa- |

15 So all, except D2, revāyatiḥ; P2 raikhāyani; S reśāyani; note the dental -n-; cf. possibly ālekhana, Baudh. (the final -ā of P1's reading in no. 14 in that case would belong here).
16 So R, Sk; P1 pārṣatai; Ed., D1 pārvati; D2 pārkhati; S śāryāti; P2 yāryati.
17 P1 -narai.
19 So P, R, Sk, S; Ed. pāṇili; D1 pārṇinaliḥ; D2 पूर्णिल्लि (*sic*); possibly pāṇini in Baudh. belongs here.
21 Restored from Baudh.; Ed., P, R, Sk, Rm uccayamāna; D1 rucamāna; D2 rudrāyamāna.
22 So Ed., P, R; Sk sāsa-; D1 sāpta-; D2 sātyakapi; P1 omits 22–33 and adds them in a second hand in margin.
23 P2 vaiṣṇupurepi (cf. Matsya).
24 D bā-; R vālīkaya-.
25 Ed. -keśinām; P2 -kaiśinām; D2 -keśoḥ; Sk -kecinaḥ; R -keśina.
27 P2 ārtabhārgava.
29 Ed. maṇḍa.
32, 33 So Sk; Rm ājīhitā ātithayaḥ; Ed. ājihātithīnāṃ; P2 ājihītātithīnāṃ; P1 jihitātithīnāṃ; D1 ājihītithiḥ; D2 ajihitaḥ ātisthiṃti; R agnihotā atithayaḥ.
34 So P1; S sthaumaugoti; Ed. sthaumāgauri; Sk sthaumāṃgiri; R sthaumā girayaḥ; D1 sthaumāṅgāriḥ; D2 māṅgiriḥ only; P2 sthaumaṃgīri.
35 So S; all the others, sthaula (Sk sthola) only; cf. the other lists.
36 So Ed.; P1 saukhāvahir; R saukhā varhiṣo; Sk saukhāḥ barhiṣo; D1 saukhovāhiḥ; D2 saukhaḥ barhiḥ; P2 sauṣābarhi.
37 So P1; Ed. śa-; P2 karkarākṣi.

*Mān.*

17 vaiśvāmara.
18 vairupākṣi.
19 pārṇāli.
20 vṛkāścakānām.
21 ucitamanā.
25 tailakakeśinām.
26 ṛtabhāyā.
28 mārkaṇḍaye.
35 stholapiṇḍa.
37 -ārkṣa.





| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 38. Devamatīnām | 38. Devamatīnāṃ |
| 39. Ārkāyaṇa- | 39. †āyaṇa- |
| | †ārcāyana- |
| 40. Āhvāyana- | 40. Āhvāyana- |
| 41. Gāṅgāyana- | 41. Gāṅgāyana- |
| 42. †gehyāyana- | 42. . . .} (Cf. end of list, p. 89.) |
| 43. Goṣṭhāyana- | 43. . . .} |
| 44. Vaiśampāyana- | 44. Vaiśampāyana- |
| | Vāyavyāyana- |
| | †auduṃtyāyana- |
| | †saurayī- |
| | 4. Dārbhi- |
| | 5. Mālāyana- |
| 45. Śārṅgarava- | 45. Śārṅgarava- |
| 46. Gālava- | 46. Gālava- |
| 47. Cāṇūkeya- | 47. Cāṇūkeya- |
| 48. Vaikarṇi- | 48. Vaikarṇi- |
| | śaunakarṇi- |
| | śauṇḍakarṇi- |
| 49. Sāṃkṛtya- | 49. Sāṃkṛtya- |
| 50. Aitiśāyanānāṃ | 50. Aitiśāyanānāṃ |
| 51. Yājñeya- | 51. Yājñeya- |
| 52. Bhrāṣṭreya- | 52. Bhrāṣṭreya- |
| 52*a*. Bhrāstreya- | |
| 53. Lākṣeya- | 53. †kṣmālā aṇḍa† |
| 54. Lākuci- | 54. . . . |

38 Cf. gaṇa 110. 9.
40 S kāhlāyana; perhaps read kāhvāyana, cf. Baudh. no. 55.
41 So P2; P1, Ed. gārbhyāyaṇa (but Ed. with dental -na); R, Sk gāṅgyāyana; D gārbhāyana; cf. Mān. and Baudh. no. 60.
42 So R, Sk, D; Ed. goh-; P2 kātyāyana; P1 omits.
43 So Sk, R, D1; D2 -ṣṭā-; Ed. -ṣṭhyā-; P2 -ṣṭyā-; P1 goṣṭagayana; read gauṣṭhāyana? cf. Baudh. no. 23.
45 So P; Ed. sārbharava; S śārṅgara; cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 73.
46 So P1, D, Sk, R; Ed. gaulava; P2 gālāvarbhyāyana-gohyāyana-śarkirākṣi.
47 So Ed., P2; D2 vāṇ-; D1 vān-; P1 vāṇakeya; S vāṇukaya; Sk, Rm (misplaced after no. 49) vāṇakayaḥ, vāṇakeya.
48 So P; Ed. raikaṇi; S naikarṇi.
49 So Ed., P, D; R, Sk (making the word-division wrongly) sāṃkṛtayaḥ.
50 So Ed.; D, R, Rm aitikāyana; P iti kātyāyanānām; Sk ainikāyanāḥ; aitikāyana appears alongside aitiśāyana in gaṇa *naḍādi*, and would seem to be the archetypal reading here; but it is virtually certain that the name must correspond to aitiśāyana in the Baudh. list. In both places, it is tempting to read aitaśāyana (cf. Kauṣ. Br. 30. 5; Ait. Br. 6. 33), who is no doubt meant, but the spelling aiti- had clearly become fixed in the pravara-lists at a very early date.
52 So Ed., Sk, Rm, R, D1, P2; D2 -ṣṭe-; P1 bhāṣṭhe only.
52*a* So Ed., Sk, R, D2, P2; D1 bāstreyaḥ; Rm bhāstr-; P1 streyā only; this name (if indeed not mere dittography), is presumably simply an alternative spelling of the preceding.
53 P1 lekṣayā.
54 So P2, R, Sk, D2; D1 lāpuḥ vi-; Ed. lākuñci; P1 leyālāllaci.

*Mān.*

4 dālbhī.
45 śāṃkarava.
46 kāḷava.
47 cālūkāpo.
48 and the two following names appear with the singular ending, -iḥ.
49 sāṃgityā.
50 tvāgiśāyanānāṃ.
51 yāgneya.

| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 55. Lalāṭi- | 55. . . . |
| 56. Pārimāṇḍalīnāṃ | 56. Pārimaṇḍalāyana-<br>†alundhi-<br>krausti- |
| 57. Mālāyana- | |
| 58. †avigauvi | |
| 59. sauṣmikīnāṃ | 59. saudhakīnāṃ† |
| 60. Paingalāyana- | 60. Paingalāyana- |
| 61. Sātyakāyana- | 61. Sātyakāyana- |
| 62. Kaucahasti- | 62. Kaucahasti-<br>†kovahūṃḍiṃ-<br>sāṃkhyamitra-<br>cāndramitra- |
| 63. Cāndramasa- | 63. Cāndramasy- |
| 64. Ānulomi- | 64. Ānulomi- |
| 65. Kauṭilya- | 65. Kauṭilya-<br>[Śaunakāyani] (displacing nos. 66, 67, cf. no. 10 above) |
| 66. Caukṣa- | |
| 67. Krauñcākṣi- | |
| 68. Kāṃsa- | 68. Kāṃsya- |
| 69. Śāradvati- | 69. Śāradvata-<br>†maudgadyo- |
| 70. †vadyāpalepaya | 70. †vādyālehreyi- |
| 71. Naikarṣi- | 71. †nimithi- |
| 72. Śākalya- | 72. Śākalya- |
| 73. Uṣṭrākṣi- | 73. Uṣṭrākṣi- |

55 So Ed.; P2, Sk, D; P1 lālādi; R lalāṭi.
56 So Ed.; P2 pāli-; R pāriyomāṇḍ-; P1 -ṇḍanīnām.
57 S -ni.
58 So P1; P2 ulaṃdyi-avigauvi; Ed. atigauvi; D1 aviḥ gauviḥ; D2 avirgauviḥ; R avayo gauvayaḥ; Sk āvapa āgāvapa; Rm āvaya āngāvayaḥ; S āvigovi.
59 P1 sauśva kānām.
60 So Ed., P2; P1 paippalāyana; S pangalāyana.
61 After this name, R repeats nos. 52–4 (last as lakuḥ).
62 So S, Sk; P1 kocahasti; Ed., P2 kauvahahasti; D1 kocihastiḥ; D2 kocadasti; R kauvahastayo.
64 Ed., P2 -laumi; Sk, R anulomin-; P1 -sāṃnolomi; D anulomiḥ.
65 Conj. cf. Mān., Matsya; S kauṭi only; Ed. kauṭa; P1 kaucau; P2 kauha (or kaudṛ?); D, Sk krauñca; R kauḍāś.
66 So R; P2 caukṣu; Sk caikṣa; Ed. cakṣu; S śaukri; P1, D omits.
67 So Ed., D1, Sk, S; P1 krauc-; P2 kauc-; D2 kraucāsi; R krauvākṣayaḥ.
68 So P, S; Ed. takes half with the preceding, half with the following name -ākṣikānāṃ sasāradhvaji-; rest omit.
69 Restored; D2 śāradvaniḥ; Ed., P2, R, D1, S sāradhvaji; P1 māradhvaji; Sk saurabdhaji.
70 So Ed.; S vāṭitālepaya; P1 vādhvapalepaya; P2 vāghālepāpaya; D1 vāghālepaḥ; D2 vāghālopaḥ; R yāmvālepanā; Sk vāthyātkepāḥ.
71 So P, Sk, D2; Ed. naivarṣi; D1 naikaṛṣiḥ; R naikaṣayaḥ; S nekarṣi; Rm, Sk misplace nos. 71–8 between nos. 61 and 62.
72 So P, R, Sk, D1; D2 śāthakalma; Ed. sākaklpā; S śākatya; P2 inserts before this name, krauhva(?)kibabhrā.
73 S āṣṭrākṣi.

*Mān.*

60 paiga-.
64 anulomī.
65 kauṭalī.
69 śāradvāta.
72, 73 śākalāṣṭrākṣo.





| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 74. Vākāyany- | 74. Vākāyany- |
| 75. Anumati- | 75. Anumati- |
| 76. †jaikajihvi- | 77. †jaihmyāśama- |
| 77. jaihmāṣmanya- | 76. śokajihva- |
| 78. āṣmakrama- | 78. ātmadamani- |
| | (84?) vāṭāra- |
| 79. nirāṇi-† | 79. kirāṇi- |
| 80. Vāsi | |
| 81. Mādana- | 81. mājānāti-† |
| 82. †syoṣa- | |
| 83. Syandani- | |
| 84. Kāṭheraṇi- | |
| 85. Lāveraṇi- | 87. Kāśakṛtsna- |
| 86. saugoli- | (82?) †auṣu- |
| 87. Kāśakṛtsna- | (83?) srucato-<br>trāna-<br>vaihīkāri-† |
| 88. Mādhyodā iti | Śaukrāyaṇāḥ<br>†śākṛṇiḥ<br>Śākaṭāyanā |
| | 43. Goṣṭhāyanā |
| | 42. †golāyanā<br>ḍākavyāyanā† iti.<br>(Pravara as in K. & L.) |

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc.

Mān. adds:

vaidā nimathitās teṣāṃ pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāpnavāna vaida naimathiteti hotā nimathitavad vidavad apnavānavac cyavanavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.[1]

74, 75 Doubtfully conjectured from Mān. (and cf. Matsya); Ed., D, R pākānumati; P1 pākānuyaji; P2 pākānumuti; S pānumati; Sk yākānumati.
76 So Ed., Sk; S jaikajiṃhi; P1 yakajidvi; P2 jaikājihva; D1 ajaikajihviḥ; D2 rajaikajihmiḥ (r belongs to previous word, in spite of the visarga); R jaikajihyayo.
77 So P2; Ed. vaihyā-; P1 jaigatā-; D jaihmāyaniḥ; Sk jaihyākani; R jaihmāṣmanaya; S jaihmyāṣpa.
78 So P2, D1, Sk; R -āś-; Ed. āṣmakramaṇi; D2 rātramakramaḥ; P1 yajama; S kṣema.
79 So P, Ed., D; R nirāṇaye; Sk, Rm nirīṇayaḥ; S nirārṇā.
80 D2 vākṣiḥ; D1 joins this with the next name.
81 Conj.; Ed., P1, mādāna; S madana; P2, R sādāna; D1 sādanaḥ; Sk sadana; D2 sthādanaḥ.
82 So Ed., P, D, R; Sk syopa; S syāpa.
83 So Ed., Sk, R; D2, P2 spandati; P1 dati only; S syundati; D2 syavajiḥ.
84 Restored; cf. gaṇa *gahādi*; Ed., R, Sk kaṭe-; S, D1 kaṇṭhe-; D2 kave-; P2 kaṭhe-; P1 kaṭho-.
85 Cf. gaṇa *gahādi*; Ed., P2, Sk lave-; R bhave-; P1, D1 gave-; D2, S omit.
86 So P, Sk, R, D; Ed. saugauli.
87 Ed. kāsa-.
88 S, R madhyodā; Sk māndhyoda.

*Mān.*

74 vākāyāny.
87 kāśyakṛtsnau-.
43 goṣṭāyanā.
In the adhvaryu's pravara, nimathinavad.

[1] D, R have: *vai* (or *bai-*) *java-nimathitayoḥ. . .vaijava naimathiteti.* Sk *vaijavamithiteti tayoḥ. . .vaijavana mithiteti.* D, with the Nirṇaya-sindhu and the late Dharma-sindhu, give in addition the Śāṭhara-Māṭharas (pravara, Bhārgava, Śāṭhara, Māṭhara), which the others include among the Viśvāmitras, *q.v.*

āvadhyāyanā mauñjāyanās teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāvadhyeti hotāvadhyavac cyavanavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

| | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 1. atha Jamadagnayo Bidāḥ | 1. atha jamadagnīnāṃ |
| 2. Prācīnayogyāḥ | 2. Prācīnayogyāḥ |
| 3. Paulastyā | 3. Pulastyā |
| 4. Vaidabhṛtāḥ | 4. Vaidabhṛtāḥ |
| 5. Krauñcāyanā | 5. Krauñcāyana- |
| 6. Abhayajātās | 6. Abhayajātās |
| 7. †traikāyaṇā | 7. †taugāyanā |
| 8. Avaṭā | 8. Āvaṭāḥ |
| | †śākarṇinā |
| | bhālvaśayo |
| 9. Bhrājatyā iti | bhārgavā† iti |

(Pravara: Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna.)[1]

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya', etc.

The Vātsyas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna', etc.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. †bhṛgvaṃdīpā | 1. . . . | 1. bhraudheyā |
| 2. Mārgapathā | 2. . . . thā | 2. Mārgapathā |
| 3. Grāmyāyaṇir | 3. Grāmyāyaṇir | 3. Grāmyāyaṇir |
| 4. Adhvanaikasir | 4. †apyatekesi | 4. atha naikasī |
| 5. Āpastambir | 5. Āpastambir | 5. Āpastambir |
| 6. Bhālviḥ | 6. †bhārṇi | 6. †vibhīlli kārṇi |

4 Cf. Mān.; P2 vaidabhṛtaḥ; D1, Ed., Sk vedabhṛtaḥ; P1 vedabhṛtyātaḥ.
5 P2 krauc-.
6 D2 bhayajātas; S abhajātās.
7 So P1; Ed., P2, D2, Rm -nā (dental); D1 kraunkāyana; S sraikāyana (dental).
8 So P, S; Ed., Sk, D bhrāja (all sg.) iti; after this name, Sk bhrādantyāḥ vaikāyanāḥ bhṛjāyanāḥ; D1 bhradatyaḥ ṣṭaikāyanaḥ bhañjāyanaḥ; D2 mādasa ṣaikāyano bhṛjāyana.

*W*

3 grāmaṇyāpya-.

*Mān.*

maujāyanās. ārṣeyaḥ simply.

5 kroñcāyanā-.

1 So P1, R, D1; Ed. bhṛgavediyā; P2 gavedi only; D2 bhṛgviṃdīṣa; S bhṛgavedāyā; Rm mṛtvangīyo; D, surprisingly, says that nos. 1 and 2 have the Bida-pravara according to Kātyāyana but are Ārṣṭiṣeṇas according to the Matsya.
2 D mārgapathi; P1, R -yathā.
3 So S; Ed., -nir (dental); P -dir.

4 So Ed.; P1 -pir; P2 -śir; S adhvanekasir; Rm naikarsir; R naikasir only; D2 naikaśir only.
5 R ādastavir; P ṇyastaṃvi (first syllable blotted); D2 opastavir.
6 So R; P1 bhālalvi; P2 bālhi; Ed. bhrāliḥ; S dhālpiḥ kāmiḥ; Rm vālmiḥ; D2 bhālbhiḥ(?).

*W*

*Mān.*

2 madrapathā.
3 grāmyāṇī.
5 -bī.

[1] This pravara really belongs to the Vātsyas, cf. K. & L., and a lacuna has evidently occurred in the text. Note that the Matsya text agrees with Mān. in this.





| | *W.* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 7. Kārdamāyana- | 7. Kārdamir | 7. Kārdamir |
| 8. Ārṣṭiṣeṇa- | 8. Ārṣṭiṣeṇa- | 8. Ārṣṭiṣeṇa- |
| 9. Gardabhayo | 9. Gardabhaś ca | 9. Gardabha- śātapathi iti (*sic*) |
| 10. (A)nūpā iti | 10. Anūpā iti | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Khālāyanāḥ | Āpiśāyanāḥ | Āpiśāyanāḥ |
| 2. Śākaṭākṣā | Kāpiśāyanā | Kāpiśāyanā[ḥ] |
| 3. Maitreyā | †nāropāyanā | . . . |
| 4. atha Sāṃcaryo | | |
| 5. Drauṇāyanā | 5. raudrāyaṇā- | 5. Drauṇāyanāḥ |
| 6. Raukyāyaṇā | 1. -śvalāyanā | 1. Khālāyanā[ḥ] |
| | apikakṣā† | avicakṣā |
| | 3. Maitreyā | 3. Maitreyā |
| | †anaṇḍayya | †atha iya |
| | Āmodāyanā | Āmodāyanā |
| 7. Āpiśalā | 7. Āpiśalā | 7. Āpiśalā iti |
| 8. †pāṭikāyana | Vādhryaśvā iti | |
| 9. Hāṃsajihvā iti | | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Vītahavyā | 1. Vaitahavya- | 1. Vaitahavya- |
| 2. Yaska- | 2. Yāska- | 2. Yāska- |
| 3. Vādhūlā | 3. Mādhūna- | 3. Mādhūna- |

7 R kārdamir; D2 kārdaṃbāyaniḥ.
8 S -ṣeṇir.
9 S, P2 gardabhir.
10 P ānūpā; R anūpaś ca; D2 anupa.
After no. 2, P1 inserts (from the Baudh. Bidas): kāmalā ity ato (read ete) vidāḥ teṣāṃ pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati, bhārgava cyāvanāpnavānaurva vaideti.

1 So R, Rm; S kāl-; Ed., D1, P1 āśvalāyanāḥ; P2 svalāyanāḥ.
2 So D1; Sk śākaṭākṣyāḥ; P1, S, Ed. sākitākṣā; R śākayakṣā; P2 sākṣitāḥ kṣā-.
3 So R, Sk, S; cf. Pāṇ. 6. 4. 174, with gaṇa *gṛṣṭyādi* to 4. 1. 136; Ed. mekrayāḥ; P1 mahajyāḥ; P2 makriyā; D1 bhaitreyaḥ.
4 So Ed., P1; D1, R sācaryaḥ; Sk sāṃbaryāḥ; D2 sāṃcayo; P2 sāṃcayau; S yajñaśāntayo.
5 So R; others droṇ-.
6 So R; cf. the variants for no. 2 of Baudh.'s list; S rāgrāyaṇā; D, P1 gopāyana; P2 goptāyanā; Rm raukthā-.
7 Ed. ap-.

8 So D1; D2 pāṭha-; P1 pāri-; P2 āhi-; R ādi-; Ed., S āṭhi-; Rm āṭi-.
9 So P; Ed. hāsa-; S dāsa-; D1 hasa-; D2, R, Sk haṃsa-; after this, P2 has by dittography, āchikāyanā hāsajihvā.

3 P1 vādhula; Ed. vadhūla.

*W*

8 āṣṭryeṇa.

7 apiśalā.
vīdhreyā iti.

2 pāraska (Weber, incorporating the first syllable of the next, wrongly suggests pāraskara).

*Mān.*

7 -mīr.
9 garbha.

5 dronāyanāḥ.
1 khaḷāyanāḥ.
7 āpiśālā.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 4. Mauna- | 4. Mauna- | 4. . . . |
| 5. Mauka- | 5. Mauka- | 5. Mauka- |
| 6. Jīvantyāyana- | 6. Jaivantyāyana- | 6. Jīvantyāyano |
| 7. Arthalekhayo | 7. †aupyale-vāleya- | 7. †athale- |
| 8. Bhāgaleya- | 8. bhāleya† | 8. Bhāgaleya- |
| 9. Bhāgavijñeya- | | 9. Bhāgavijñeya- |
| 10. Kauśāmbeya- | | 10. Kauśāmbeya- |
| 11. Vṛkāśvaki- | | 11. Vṛkāśvaki- |
| 12. †madoki- | (Omits nos. 9–15) | 12. †mādāhi |
| 13. Bāleya- | | 13. . . . |
| 14. Gaurikṣita- | | 14. Gaurikṣita- |
| 15. Dairghyacita- | | 15. Dairghyacita-†vāleyaṃ |
| 16. Pañcālava- | 16. †pānyacata | 16. †pāñcadhanā |
| 17. Pauṣṇāvatāra- | 17. prodaḍavājā iti† | 17. Pauṣṇāvatā iti |
| 18. Modāyanā iti | | |

Pravara: Bhārgava Vaitahavya Sāvedhasa (but W has savedasavad in the Adhvaryu's).

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvedasa', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 8. Gārtsamadaḥ | 8. Gārtsamadaḥ |
| | 9. Śunakā | 9. Śunakā |
| 1. Yājñapayaḥ | 1. †yajñavaca- | 1. †yajñavacā |
| 2. Saukarā | 2. Saukarī | 2. Saukariḥ |
| 3. Matsyagandhāḥ | 3. . . . | 3. . . . |

4 So S; Ed., P2 mādhūna; Rm, Sk mādhūlāḥ; R, P1, D1 mādhula; D2 mādhutvo.
5 So S, P1, P2; Ed. maudga; R, Sk, Rm mausalāḥ.
6 So Sk; R śrīvaṃtyāyabhāśvaḍaṃ; Ed. lāntyāyana; P1 lāvantyāyana; P2 lāṃvatyāyana; S yāvantyāyana.
7 So Sk, R; P2 arthalekhir; Ed. arthalekhāḥ; P1, D1 arthalebhiḥ; D2 'rthalo; S ardhalebhi; after this P2 adds ṣmagalekhi.
9 P2 bhāṃga-; P1 bhāgavijñevaya; rest omit.
11 So P1, Sk; R dṛkāśmakayo; D1 vṛkāsmakiḥ; D2 vṛkāśmahi; Ed. vṛkāśvavi; S vṛkāśvami; P2 vṛṣāśvaki.
12 So Ed., P, D; S kadoki; Sk madho khadho; R mado vayo.
13 Conj. P2 pravāreya; Ed. vāreya only; P1, D2 cāreya; D1 mañcāreyaḥ; Sk rathāḥ; R vatpā; S yāreya. Cf. Baudh.
14 Rm gairikṣita; rest, gauri-; S gaurihita.
15 So Ed.; P1 dairghyā-; P2, S dairdhya-; R dairghyavita; D, Rm dairghacittaḥ; Sk vaidyaṃvitāḥ.
16 D2 yacālavaḥ.
17 So P2, S; Ed. pausmāvarāra; Sk pauṣṇāvatāḥ; P1, R pauṣṇavata; D1 pāṇyavattaḥ pauṣṇāvataḥ; D2 pāṇyavatāḥ pāṇāvato; Rm pauṣpāvatā.
18 So Ed., P2; R gaud-; rest, god-.

1 So P1; Ed., P2 yājapayaḥ.
2 So all (except P2 saukārā); but presumably the name ought to correspond to Baudh.'s saugandhi.
3 Restored, cf. Baudh., Matsya; Sk ṇasagandhāḥ; D2 māsagandhaḥ; all the others, māṃsagandhāḥ.

*W*

5 mauṭya.
6 jaimantāyana.
2 sokārī.

*Mān.*

5 maudga-.
6 tvivatāyano.
8 bhāgalī.
9 bhāgavite.
10 kauśātīpi.
11 vṛkṣāśaki.
14 kaurikṣi.
15 daurgavitaṃ.
8 gārchamadāḥ.
2 sukarī.





| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 4. Kārdamāyanāś | 4. Kārdamāyanā rājavādhavyāś | 4. Kārdamāyanā rājabādhavyāś |
| 5. Caukṣāḥ | 5. Caukṣāś caurāḥ | 5. Caukṣāś corāḥ |
| 6. Śrotriyāḥ | 6. Śrotriya(ḥ) | 6. Śrotriyā(ḥ) |
| 7. Pratyūṣā | 7. †pratyurā iti | 7. pratyarā |
| 8. Gṛtsamadāḥ | W gives also an additional alternative, Bhārgava, Śaunahotra, Gārtsamada. | ity ete śunakā ity eteṣāṃ, etc. Pravara = K. & L. |
| 9. Śunakā iti | | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Gārtsamada', etc.; or a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Gārtsamada', etc.

Both W and Mān. give in addition the following three families:

vatsapurodhasānāṃ pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava cyāvanāpnavāna[1] vātsa paurodhaseti hotā purodhasavad vatsavad apnavānavac cyavanavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

vedaviśvajyotiṣās teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava veda viśvajyotiṣeti hotā viśvajyotiṣavad vedavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.[2]

pārthavainyānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati[3] bhārgava vainya pārtheti hotā pṛthuvad venavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuḥ.

## D. *Āśvalāyana*

The Jāmadagnya-Vātsas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya'.

But those who are not Jāmadagnyas[4] have 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna'.

4 Ed., P kard-; D2 kārdāyano.
5 So Ed., P1; P2, D2 śvaukṣā.
6 P1 -tryā.
7 So Ed., P2, R, Sk; P1 prasūṣāṃ; D2 pratyuṣyo.
9 In S only.

*W*

4 kard-.

*Mān.*

4 kāda-.
5 (ś)vokṣāś.
6 śrotryā.
pūtenuśakā ity eteṣāṃ, etc.

[1] Mān. omits to this point, and also omits *apnavānavac cyavanavad* from the Adhvaryu's pravara. The reading of W is supported by Sk, R, D, and the Nirṇaya-sindhu.

[2] So D, Nirṇaya-sindhu, Dharma-sindhu; D, however, gives them at the very end of the Bhṛgus, after the usual prohibition of intermarriage, so that one may suspect that they have been interpolated. D, moreover, attributes the family to Kātyāyana.

[3] W *pārthavavenānāṃ*, and in the pravara, *pārthaveti*; Mān. *prārthaśvetānāṃ*, and in the pravara, *vaiṇya, pārthiveti, veṇuvat*.

Mān. places these three families between the Yaskas and the Gṛtsamada-Śunakas, W between the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas and the Mitrayu-Vādhryaśvas. They are given at the end here merely for convenience, and their correct place remains uncertain.

[4] So Ed., ChRao, *BiblInd*, *atha hājām-*; Berl, P *athāha jām-*; in place of this paragraph, *VidhPār* has *vatsa-śrīvatsayoś ca tathaiva*.

Of the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa'.
Of the Bidas, 'Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida'.

1. Yaska-
2. Vādhūla-
3. Mauna-
4. Mauka-
5. Śārkarākṣi-
6. Sārṣṭi-
7. Sāvarṇi-
8. Śālankāyana-
9. Jaimini-
10. Jīvantyāyanānāṃ

These have 'Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvetasa'.[1]

Of the Śyaitas,[2] 'Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha'.

Of the Mitrayus, 'Vādhryaśva'; or a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Daivodāsa, Vādhryaśva'.

Of the Śunakas, 'Gṛtsamada' (*sic*); or a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhārgava, Śaunahotra,[3] Gārtsamada'.

## E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

[Puruṣottama, after some laudatory verses, quotes in full the legend from the *Purāṇa* of the production of the *ṛṣis* from the sperm of Brahmā. This contains nothing of the slightest historical value for the elucidation of the pravaras, and we may safely omit it here. After it, the text continues:][4]

I shall tell the gotras and pravaras of Bhṛgu, of brilliant strength:

1. Bhṛguś ca
   Cyavanaś caiva
   Āpnavānas tathaiva ca
   Aurvaś ca
2. Jamadagniś ca
3. Vātsyo
4. Dārbhir
5. Nāḍāyanaḥ
6. Vāgāyano
8. †vaitihayaḥ
9. Pailaś caiva
7. Ānusātakiḥ
10. Śaunakāyani-
11. Jīvanti-
12. kāmbodāḥ

1 Ed. yāska; P2 yāskaka; P1 yaskṛ.
2 P1 śāyula.
3 P2 maunasa.
5–9 P1 omits.
6 P2 sānuṣṭi.
7 P2 omits; D confirms nos. 6 and 7 (dvāv adhikāv āśvalāyanoktau).
10 P1 jīvantyāthalānāṃ; *BiblInd, VidhPār* daivantyāyanānāṃ.

The first five names are simply the pravara-*ṛṣis*, given as the first ancestors of the family.
3 So M; Ed., P vatso; Sk, Rm mātsyo.
4 So Ed., P, R; M daṇḍir.
5 So Sk, Rm, D1; D2 narāyaṇo; all the others, naḍāyanaḥ, as the metre requires.
6 Cf. K. & L.; Ed., P vairāyano (dental); D, Sk, Rm vairāyaṇo; M vaigāyano; Kṛṣ vairāyava.
8 So D, P1; Ed., M1 vītahavyaḥ; M2 vītihavyaḥ; P2 vaivainyaś ca; Sk, R vainyo; Kṛṣ vaimya.
9 P2 pau-.
7 Cf. K. & L.; P1 -ānūsātyakiḥ; P2 -ānusārikiḥ; Ed. -ānusārakiḥ; M -ātra śaunakaḥ; Kṛṣ sāriki only.
10 M, Kṛṣ -na.
11 P2 -tī (better?).
12 So Ed.; P -vo-; M āvedaḥ; Kṛṣ kāmbāda.

[1] So *BiblInd, VidhPār*; Ed. *sāvedasa*; P2 *sāvedhasa*.
[2] So Ed., *BiblInd*; possibly a mere scribal error for *vainyānāṃ*; P1 *sautānāṃ*; P2 *vainyānāṃ*.
[3] So Ed., *BiblInd*; P2, *VidhPār śaunaka*. P1, by haplography, omits all between the two occurrences of the word *tripravaraṃ*.
[4] The manuscript used for the printing of Ed. inserts before the laudatory verses a *śloka* from the legend: *polomy ajanayad vipraṃ devānāṃ tu kanīyasaṃ: cyavanaṃ ca mahābhāgam apnavānaṃ tathāpyasau*. Chentsal Rao prints it as it stands.





16. Pārṣatis tathā
13. Vaihīnarir
18. Virūpākṣo
14. rauhityāyanir eva ca
17. Vaiśvānarir
21.? Uccairmanyuḥ
22. Sāvarṇiś ca
20. Vṛkāśvakaḥ
23. Vaiṣṭapureyi-
24. Vālākis
25. Taulakeśy-
27. Ārtabhāginaḥ
26. Ṛtabhāgo
28. Mārkaṇḍeyā
32. Ājihīna-
33. Ātithis tathā
29. Maṇḍu-
30. Māṇḍavya-
31. Māṇḍūka-
34. †sphenapāganibhas tathā
35. Sthaulapiṇḍiḥ
36. †śikhāpattir
37. Śārkarākṣis tathaiva ca
39. Ārkāyaṇo
38. Devamatir

*M**

†pāṇḍurociḥ
†sa-gālavaḥ//
49. Sāṃkṛtyaś
†cātakiḥ
sārpir
yajñapiṇḍāyanas tathā†

*p**

†māṇḍūma
vṛṣabhiḥ
sutaḥ//
lavaḥ†
49. Sāṃkṛtya-
†śālākis
tathā caivānusātakiḥ/
kopiyajño
mitrayajñas
tathā caivāmilāyanaḥ†/

16 So Ed., P (P1 with -ṣ altered to -p-), Kṛṣ; M1 kārpaṇis; M2 kārṣaṇis.
13 P1 -niro; Kṛṣ vedāna.
18 P1 virop-.
14 So M, Sk, R, P2, D2; Ed., P1 rauhī-; D1 rohityāyanaḥ; Kṛṣ rauhitya aṃtarita; cf. K. & L. vairohitya.
21 Conj.; Ed., R kapānīlur; P1 kapālītu; P2 kapāyīlar-; Sk kṛpānīlaḥ; Rm kṛpānīluḥ; M tathā nīlo; Kṛṣ kapānīka.
22 Ed. vā sāvarṇir; P2 ba sāvarṇir; P1, D visāvarṇir; R sāvakarṇi; Sk sāvarṇiḥ.
20 Restored; Ed., P vikaścaruḥ; D vikasvaraḥ; R kasvarur; Sk vikasvarūpaḥ; for nos. 22 and 20 M has lubdhaḥ sāvarṇikaś ca saḥ; Kṛṣ ūrva sāvarṇi caru.
23 Restored; Ed., P1 viṣṇuḥ pailo pi; P2 viṣṇuḥ paulo 'pi; M viṣṇuḥ pauro 'pi; Kṛṣ viṣṇu paulomi; R, Sk, D1 viṣṇu only; D2 vichus.
24 So Ed.; M, P2 bā-; P1 cā-.
25 So R; Sk tol-; P1 taulikeśa-; D1 taulikeśiḥ; D2 tauliḥ keśiḥ; P2 nailikena; Ed. naulikonā-; M ailiko.
27 So P1; P2 -āntarbhāginaḥ; Ed. -āntabhāginaḥ; M 'nantabhāginaḥ; Kṛṣ nauli kenāṃta bhāgina.
26 Restored; P1 mṛtabhāgo; P2, Ed. sṛto bhārgo; M1 bhṛtabhārgeya; M2 mṛtabhārgeya; Kṛṣ tāyana bhārgava.
28 So Kṛṣ; Ed. 'tha mārkaṇḍu; P1, M 'tha mārkaṇḍa; P2 'tha mārkaṇḍi.
32 Conj.; cf. K. & L.; Ed., Sk jahino; P1, D jahimo; P2 ḍikito; R jahilo; M javino; Kṛṣ urjahi.
33 Conj.; cf. K. & L.; Ed., Sk, M1, P2, D1, Kṛṣ vītanas; P1 vitinas; M2 nītinas; R vījinaḥ; D2 votinaḥ.
29 M maṇḍa.
30 P2 maṇḍavyu; after no. 30 Kṛṣ has vātsyāyana.
34 So Ed.; P1, D phenapāstalinaḥ; P2 spenapāgatinas; S -pegabhina-; Kṛṣ śyena pāgali; M1 phenapās tanitas; M2 phenapāḥ stanitas; R kenayāḥ talivaḥ; Sk kanayāḥ nalinaḥ.
35 So Ed., P1; P2 sthaulīpaṇḍi; M sthalapiṇḍa.
36 So P2; P1, Sk śikhāpatir; R śikhāyatrir; D1 śikhāpatriḥ; D2 śikhāyattiḥ; Ed. śiṣāpattiś; M śikhāvarṇaḥ.
37 All, śā-. After this name, all the sources have an additional line, which, however, is clearly a dislocation from after no. 56, where indeed P1 and M give in addition another version. For the readings here, see below at that point.

* The readings of the Matsya editions and of Puruṣottama are irreconcilable for the names between 38 and 41, and since only one name (sāṃkṛtya) can be traced at this point in K. & L. and Mān., there is little hope of mending the text. The variants in the manuscripts are: for M, M2 adds a variant reading for the last, yājño yadrāmilāyanaḥ; for p, Ed. māṇḍūma, P1 māṇḍūkama, Kṛṣ māṇḍūya; Ed., P1, Kṛṣ vṛṣabhiḥ; R, D1, Sk ṛṣabhăḥ; D2 traraṣabhiḥ; Sk, R, D1 sutaḥ; D2 stutaḥ; P1 sutās-; Ed. sa ca; Kṛṣ omits; Kṛṣ, R, Ed. lavaḥ; P1 tavaḥ; D plavaḥ; Sk palavaḥ; P1 ānuśā-; Ed. ānusā-; Kṛṣ sātaki only; Ed., P, R, Sk kopiyajño; D1 kopa-; D2 vopa-; Kṛṣ krāpa-; all, except Rm, mitrarajñas; P1 caiva mil-; P2 caivābhilāyaniḥ; Ed. tathā vā mitralāyanaḥ; Kṛṣ amilāyana; Sk, D āmilāyana (D2 āmitsāyana?). (P2 omits from ārkāyaṇo to ānusātakiḥ.)

41. Gāngāyana-
40. Āhvāyanaś ca
42. ṛṣir †godāyanis tathā
43. Goṣṭhāyano
47. Cāṇukiś ca
44. Vaiśampāyana-
46. Gālavau
48. Vaikarṇayaḥ
45. Śārṅgaravo
51. Yājñeyir
(50, 52). †bhrāṣṭrakāyaniḥ

55. Lālāṭir
54. Lākuciś caiva
53. Lākṣeyaḥ
56. Parimaṇḍalaḥ
58. †ālukiḥ
59. saucakiḥ
kautsas†
60. tathānyaḥ Paingalāyaniḥ
61. śālyāyanir
57. Mālāyaniḥ

65. Kauṭilyaḥ
62. Kaucahastikaḥ
(66?) †sauhasokti
67. sa-Krauñcākṣi-
68. Kāṃsiś
63. Cāndramasis tathā
76. †naikajihvo
77. jihmaśūnyaḥ
78. kehmaleṭir
79. hikaścariḥ†

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39 Restored; P1, Ed. mārk-; M2 mānkāyano; M1 karmāyano; the initial m- has arisen from the genitive plural ending of devamatīnām, which preceded in the Matsya's source; P2 omits from this name to †ānusātakiḥ inclusive.
38 Restored; Ed., R, D2, P1 divapatir; M devapatiḥ; D1 divapītiḥ; Sk divaḥ patiḥ.
41 Restored, cf. the other lists; M1 gārgyāyano; P1 gārgāyano; Ed. mārgāyano; Kṛṣ gargāyano (all with dental n); P2, M3 gārgyāyaṇo.
40 So Kṛṣ; Ed., P hvāyanaśca only; M gāyanaś ca.
42 So P2; P1 ṇodāyanis; Kṛṣ gośāyana; Ed. gotsāyanas; M1 gārhāyanas; M2 gārhāyaṇas.
43 So M; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ -ṣṭhyā-; P1 -ṣṭyā-.
47 Conj., but doubtful; Ed., P, D hāyaniś ca; R, Sk hāyatiḥ; Kṛṣ uhāyani; M1 vātyāyano; M2 vāhyāyano, with variant reading mahābhāgo.
46 So P, Ed., Kṛṣ; M has no name, but fills the verse with eva ca.
48 Restored; Ed., M, Sk vaikarṇiniḥ; M2 gives v.l. -ṇeyaḥ; P, D2, R vaikarṇapi; Sk vaikaṇiyiḥ; D1 kailavarṇadhiḥ; Kṛṣ vaikarṇāyana.
45 So Ed., P1, M2; Kṛṣ śārgarava; M1 śānkaravo; P2 śārbharavo.
51 So M; Ed. yajñeyir; P1 yājñapir; P2 yājapir.
50, 52 So M1, with dental n; M2 -ṇiḥ; Ed. bhārṣṭrakāyaniḥ (dental); Kṛṣ bhārṇakāyani; P2 bhārṇavāyaniḥ; P1, D1 bhāllakāyaniḥ; Sk, R bhāllakāyatiḥ; D2 māstukāyanir; the original Mastya source seems to have confounded the two names bhraṣṭreya and aitikāyana (for aitiśāyana).
55 So M; P -ḍir; Ed. lālavir; D1 lalāmaḥ; D2 lutmāmaḥ; Kṛṣ lālāvila.
54 So P1; Ed. lābhṛtiś; M nākuliś; P2 bilabhṛc caiva; Kṛṣ bhṛti.
53 Restored; M. laukṣiṇyo; M2 has v.l. laugākṣi; P2 lakṣmaṇyaḥ; P1, Kṛṣ lalyānyaḥ; Ed. lalyānaḥ; R lakṣmiṇyaḥ; Rm lākṣmaṇaḥ.
56 M -lau.
58–60 So M; P1 alukiḥ s. kośas...paigalāyaniḥ; M2 gives v.l. for the first name, jalābhit. None of the other sources have this line here, but all (including M, P1) give a different version of it between nos. 37 and 39. The readings there are: Ed. jalupi-dhvajakṛtsanyau tathānyaḥ paugalāyaniḥ; S jāladhis saidhvajiḥ kṛcchaḥ...paing-; M jāladhiḥ saudhakiḥ (M2 saudhikaḥ) kṣubhyaḥ kutsanyo (M2 kutso'nyo) maudgalāyanaḥ; P1 jaladhiḥ saillajit snas tathānyaḥ paing-; P2 jaladhiḥ saudhvajiḥ kṛtsnas tatho'nyaḥ paing-; Kṛṣ jaladhi saidhvaji kṛṣṇa pingalāyani; D, R jaladhiḥ; Sk jalanidhiḥ; D sainyajit; R senajil; Sk senājit; R latsnaḥ; D, Sk kṛtsna(ḥ); Sk paingalāyaniḥ; R pog-; D paigaḷāyaniḥ; with all these, cf. Mān., ālundhi-krausti-saudhakīnām.
61 So M2, Ed., P, R, D1, Kṛṣ; M1 sātyayanir; D2 śālṣāyaniḥ; Sk śālyapatiḥ.
57 So Ed., M1; M2 mālayaniḥ; P1, D malapatiḥ; P2, R mālyāyaniḥ; Sk mālyāpatiḥ; Kṛṣ nirmalāyani.
65 Restored; Ed., P1, D1, M, Sk kauṭiliḥ; R kauṭhaliḥ; P2 kauṭale; D2 koṭaliḥ; Kṛṣ kāṭhi.
62 So M; Ed., P1 koca-; P2 śova-; Kṛṣ lauki hastika.
66–8 (nos. 67, 68 restored from the other lists) M sauhasoktiḥ (M2 sauhaḥ soktiḥ) sa-kauvākṣiḥ (M2 gives v.l. kaugākṣi) kausiś; p diverges widely—sauktiḥ (P1, D2 śauktiḥ) sa-koṭaraś (Sk -ṭh-; P2 sa-vyorara) sākṣī (P, D, -iḥ); Kṛṣ sauktika sasārava sākṣi.
63 So M; p sāndramaṇis; Kṛṣ cāndramaṇi.
76 So Ed., D, M, Sk; P1 jekajihvir; P2 jekajihmir; Kṛṣ jeka.
77 So Ed., D1; P1 jehmaśūnyaḥ; R, P2 jekaśūnyaḥ; Sk jihvāśūnyaḥ; D2 hihmaśūnyaḥ; M1 jihmakaś ca; M2 jihvakaś ca (with variants, jihmakaś ca and nadākiś ca); Kṛṣ jirjehma.
78 So R, P, D2; Sk kelaleḍhiḥ; D1 kejhāleṭi; Ed. kesaleḍhir; Kṛṣ kehya; M1 vyadhādyo; M2 vyādhājyo.
79 So Ed., P1, Kṛṣ; D2, R hikasvariḥ; Sk ḍikaścariḥ; D1 hikaśmariḥ; M1 lohavairiṇaḥ; M2 lauhavairiṇaḥ.





69. Śāradvatiḥ
71. sa-Naikarṣir
73. Uṣṭrākṣiś ca
85. Gaveraṇiḥ

74. vāgāyaniś
75. ca‿Anumati
82? †paurṇa-

86. saugandhi-†
87. kāśakṛt
88. sa-Madhyodas

These are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Bhṛgu, and Apnavāna, and Cyavana, and Aurva, and Jamadagni—these five are said to be the pravaras.

Now listen while I tell you of other descendants of Bhṛgu:

1. Jamadagnir
2. Bidaś caiva
3. Paulastyo
4. Vaidabhṛt tathā
6. ṛṣiś ca‿Abhayajātaś ca

7. †kāyaniḥ
śākaṭāyanaḥ
8? aurveyā
9. mārutāś† caiva

All these are said to have splendid pravaras, Bhṛgu, and Cyavana, and Apnavāna....[1] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. †bhṛgvaṃdīpo
2. Mārgapatho
3. Grāmyāyaṇi-
†kaṭāyanī
5. Āpastambis

6. tathā Bhālvir
4. †naikaśiḥ
†kapir eva ca
8. Ārṣṭiṣeṇo

9. Gārdabhiś ca
7. Kārdamāyanir eva ca
†āśvāyanis
10. tathā‿Anūpaḥ

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69 So M (without visarga); Ed., P, D1, Kṛṣ sauradvatis; D2 sauradatiḥ; R, Sk sāradhvajiḥ.
71 Restored, doubtfully from K. & L.; Ed., P1, R, Sk (sa-)naimiśyo; D1 naimiṣyaḥ; D2 naimirakhyo; P2 naimiśpro; Kṛṣ sanaimi; M -ka-netiṣyau.
73 Restored; Ed., P1, D2, R, Kṛṣ loṣṭākṣiś (ca); P2, D1 loṣṭhākṣi; Sk loṣṭhākṣaḥ; M lokākṣiś.
85 So D1; D2 -viḥ; Sk garevaṇiḥ; Ed., P, Kṛṣ bhaveraṇiḥ; R viraṇiḥ only; M. calakuṇḍalaḥ.
74 M2 vāng-.
75 So M, P1; Ed., P2 svānumatiḥ; Kṛṣ sānumati.
82, 86 So p; Kṛṣ paurṇamasi gādhika; M pūrṇimāgatiko.
87 For kāśakṛtsna; the ending has doubtless disappeared into the sa- (=with) of the following name; Ed. kāsakṛt; Sk kāśekṛt; P1 kākṛt; P2 kāsikṛt; R kāśakrt; D1 kāntakṛt; D2 kāntimad iti; Kṛṣ sīkṛta; M 'sakṛt.
88 Restored; Ed. sāmānyatas; P1 saṃvaṃdhyaṃtas; P2 samadhyagas (P2 adds, but out of place, immediately before the pravara, saṃboṃdhaṃta ity api pāṭhaḥ); Sk saumadāyanaḥ; M sāmānyena (and yathaiteṣāṃ for tathaiteṣāṃ).

P1 and Kṛṣ omit the whole of this family; P2, in place of the preceding pravara and the present family has only: bhṛguś ca ścavano (*sic*) py anyaḥ paulasyo bhagu (read bhṛgu) vaṃśajaḥ, caturtho bhavajāto 'yam āpnavāno hi paṃcamāḥ (*sic*); parasparam avaivāhyā, etc.
4 Restored; Ed., M1 vaija-; M2 baija-.
6 Ed. ca bhavajātaś; M cobhayajātaś.
7–9 Ed. and M agree in all these; D kaṭāyaniḥ ārṣeyaḥ (D2 artheyo) marutaḥ.

1 So P, D; Ed. -dīyo; M bhṛgudāso; Kṛṣ bhṛgu vaidīrya.
2 P2 -ratho; D2 bhārgapatha.
3 So M2 alone; all the others with dental -n-.
4 Ed., M kaṭāyanī; P1, D caṭāyaniḥ; P2 śaṭhāyanī; Kṛṣ vaṭāyani; R dāyaniḥ; Sk caṭṭāyaniḥ; Rm vadāyani.
6 So P; Ed. bhalvir; M bilvir; M2 gives variant bhallir; Kṛṣ balvina.
4 So M, P1; Ed. -siḥ; P2 naiṣakiḥ; Kṛṣ aikasi. M kapir; P, D, R, Rm kavir; Ed. kasir; Sk kakiḥ; Kṛṣ kaṃbīra.
9 Ed. gārdibhiś ca. D2, M āśvāyanis; D1 -tiḥ; P1 aśvāyatir; P2 āścāmīr; Kṛṣ āśvābhi; Ed. āśvābhir; Sk, R, Rm āśvabhiḥ.
10 So P1 (athā-); M tathārūpiḥ (so also n the pravara); P2 atha tāpiś ca; Ed. adhitāyiś ca; S ātatāyiś ca; Kṛṣ tāyi; R rathatāpir. In the pravara, Ed. has -ānūpiḥ, P -ānūpaḥ.

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[1] D says of the pravara here, *kātyāyanena vātsānāṃ* (read *vātsyānāṃ*) *trayaḥ bhārgava cyāvanāpnavānety uktam; bidānām apy eta iti mātsye.* But it is clear from a comparison of K. & L. that a lacuna has occurred in the Matsya text, or, of course, in the source from which the Matsya author derived his information.

These are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Bhṛgu, and Cyavana, and Apnavāna, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, and Anūpa—these are said to be the five pravaras. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. Yaskas | †piliś caiva | 12. sa- †madāgeyi |
| 1. tathā Vītahavyo | khalis tathā† | 15. Dairghyacitas tathaiva ca |
| 3. mādhūlaś | 8. Bhāgalir | 14. Gaurikṣitaḥ |
| †caṇḍamo | 9. Bhāgavijñeyaḥ | 16. Pañcālavaḥ |
| damaḥ† | 10. Kauśāmbeyi- | 17. tathā Pauṣṇāvato hy ṛṣiḥ |
| 6. Jīvantyāyanir | 11. Vṛkāśvakī | 18. Modāyano |
| 4? Maunaś ca | 13. Bāleyaḥ | |

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi*[1] pravara, Bhṛgu, and Vītahavya, and Savedhasa.[2] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Khālāyaniḥ | 4. Sāṃcaryas tathā | 7. Āpiśalī ca‿ |
| 2. Śākaṭākṣo | 5. Drauṇāyano | 8. †āpikāyaniḥ |
| 3. Maitreyaḥ | 6. Raukyāyaṇa‿ | 9. Haṃsajihvas |

1, 2 Kṛṣ, P 1 yāskā; the word tathā is doubtful; For it, Ed., P have vāco; Kṛṣ dhava; M yasko vā vītihavyo (*sic*) vā—a clumsy emendation, presumably meant to indicate that the names are alternative designations of the family; M 2 gives a variant, yaskā varo.
3 Conj.; Ed. mādhavaś; P 2 madhavaś; P 1 māṃvas; Kṛṣ mākama; M mathitas. The next two names perhaps correspond to mauna and mauka of the other lists, but see no. 4 below; Ed., P 2 caṇḍamo damaḥ; P 1, D, R, Rm caṇḍamo danaḥ; Kṛṣ (as one name) candamodaya; Sk pandumo dano; M 1 tu tathā damah; M 2 ca tathā damaḥ.
6 So Ed., P; M jaivant-; D 1 jaivat-; D 2 jīvat-.
4 Conj.; M mauñjaś ca; Ed., P 1 mauliś ca; P 2 mauśalyo; D mausaliḥ; Kṛṣ sausāli.
Ed., D, P 1, M, Sk piliś (caiva); P 2 picaliś caiva; Kṛṣ śvipili.
P, D, Ed., R, Sk khalis (tathā); M calis tathā; Kṛṣ vali.
8 So P, D 1, Kṛṣ; D 2 bhāguliḥ; M bhāgilo; Ed. bhārgelir.
9 Restored; P 2, D 1, Rm bhāgavittiś (ca); Ed. bhārgavatviś ca; P 1 bhāgavitiś ca; D 2 bhāgacitiḥ; Kṛṣ bhāgavi viśva.
10 So Ed., P, Kṛṣ; M kauśāpis tv atha.
11 Restored; Ed., P, M, Kṛṣ, R, Sk, Rm (-ś ca) kāśyapiḥ; D 1 kaśyapiḥ; D 2 kāsvapi.
13 For bāleyaḥ, cf. Baudh.; Ed., P 2 bāleyis; M bālapiḥ; P 1 vāpi; D 1 vāleyaḥ; D 2 vāle-i; Kṛṣ vāleyi.
12 So Ed.; M śramadāgepiḥ; P 1 samadāgepiḥ; P 2, D 1 samadogeyiḥ; D 2 sṛyadāge-i (with ṛ blotted out); Kṛṣ samadrāgepi.
15 Conj.; Ed. saujvariś ca; M saurastithis; P 1 saurijvaris; P 2 jvariḥ sauris; Sk sauriḥ tvariḥ; R sauriḥ dvārir; D 1 sauriḥ jvariḥ; D 2 saurijvāra; Kṛṣ saurijvarita; Rm saurirjvarir.
P 2 and Kṛṣ omit the rest of this family; P 1 dislocates the last four names and the pravara to after the pravara of the next family (the Mitrayus).
14, 16 Conj.; P 1 gaurjigaś ca sa-pañcālas; Ed., M gārgīyas tv atha jābālis.
17 P 1 t. pauṣṇavato muniḥ; Ed., M t. pauṣṇyāyano hy ṛṣiḥ.
18 Conj.; Ed., M 1 grāmadaś ca; P 1 vāsodaś ca; D 1, after a number of additional names, ends with gaurjigaḥ vāsodaḥ (D 2 gaujigo vāsteda).

P 2 and Kṛṣ omit this family entirely.
1 Conj.; P 1 khānāyani; Ed., M, D 1 śālāyani; D 2 vānāyaniḥ.
2 So Ed., M; P 1 sākacakṣo.
4 Conj. (but against the metre); Ed., M khāṇḍavas tathā; P 1, D sānvayas tathā.
5 P 1 droṇ-.
6 P 1, D 2 raukyāyanaḥ (dental); D 1 raukthāyanaḥ; Ed. raukmāyanaḥ; M 1 raukmāyanā-; M 3 raukmāyaṇir.
7 So M 1, and a variant given by M 2 (although the sandhi crosses the caesura); M 2 āpiśiś ca-; Ed. piśalī; P 1 apiśiś ca-.
8 So Ed., P 1, M; D -na.
9 So Ed., M 1; P 1 haṃsaniruhvas.

[1] Here, and in several other instances, Ed., M 1, M 2 all print *ārṣeyaḥ* for *tryārṣeyaḥ*—an obvious enough scribal error.

[2] So P 1 *tathā caiva savedhasaḥ*; Ed. and both Matsya editions actually print without comment the unbelievable corruption *tathā raivasa-vaivasau*. This is all the more remarkable in the case of Ed., since, as P 1 shows, Puruṣottama's text was free of it, and Chentsal Rao would seem to have taken the trouble of incorporating it from some other Matsya text.





These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Bhṛgu, and Vadhryaśva, and Divodāsa. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| †śāktyāyano | 7. Pratyūṣaś ca | 4. Kārdamāyaniḥ |
| 1. Yājñapayaḥ | 6. Śrotriyaś ca | 8. tathā Gṛtsamado rājan |
| 3. Matsyagandhis tathaiva ca | 5. Caukṣiś ca | 9. Śunakaś ca mahān ṛṣiḥ |

The pravaras[1] of those mentioned here are said to have two *ṛṣis*, Bhṛgu and Gṛtsamada—these two are said to be the pravara-*ṛṣis* (*ārṣau*). These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The founders of gotras, of great power, in the family of Bhṛgu have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

*Puruṣottama comments*:

Now we shall explain these sections. Among the gotra-gaṇas here cited, if any single Sūtra-author gives any particular not given by the other Sūtra-authors—for example, any gotra, or gotra-gaṇa, or other names within the gaṇa, or a different number of gotras, or a different order of the *ṛṣis* in a pravara,[2] or alternative pravaras, together with the question of marriage and non-marriage in such a case, or any other difference—it must all be held to have been said by all the Sūtra-authors, since there is no difference between them in the matter of authority, and since there is no obstacle to establishing the validity of a rule from a single pronouncement: exactly as in the legal books, in their chapters on penances, inheritance and procedure. Moreover, if the forms of the *ṛṣi*-names listed in the gotra-gaṇas should be in doubt, either in the matter of vowel-length, or number, or order, or such like, they are to be decided to the best of one's intelligence by properly applying the resources of the Veda, the Nirukta, Grammar, the Mantras, the Explanatory Works, Tales, Purāṇas, and worldly logic. Moreover, wherever a name is read twice or thrice, in the same gaṇa, or in different gaṇas, it must be considered that distinct *ṛṣis* are meant, in spite of the identity of the name, since otherwise there would be no point in the repetition, and since, moreover, there is a difference in pravara between one

P, D 1, R, Sk śāktyāyano; D 2 vākyāyana; Ed., M ekāyano; M 2 gives variant, śākāyano; Kṛṣ śaṣṇyāyana.
1 Cf. K. & L.; Ed., M 1 yājñapatir; P 1 yalarmatir; P 2 pejñepati-.
3 So Ed., P 2; P 1 matsyaṃgandhis; M, Kṛṣ -ndhas.
7 Cf. K. & L.; Ed., P 1, M 1, Kṛṣ pratyūhaś ca.
6 Conj.; Ed., P, D, Kṛṣ, R, Sk tathā śroṇyaś; M tathā sauriś.
5 So P 1; Ed., P 2 cakṣur vā; M caukṣir vai; Kṛṣ vakṣina; R caukṣāḥ; Sk cokṣāḥ.
4 Kṛṣ kāda-.
9 Restored; Ed. sanayaś ca; M, D sanakaś ca; P 1 śanakaś ca; P 2 sanapaś ca; Kṛṣ sanapa.

[1] P 2 reads only: *pravarāṇām avaivāhyā ṛṣayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ*; Kṛṣ (not realising the lacuna, and grouping the present family with the Yaksas): *ete saptaviṃśati bhārgava cyāvana jāmadagnya*; *pravarāṇām avivāhyā ṛṣayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ*.

[2] Read *pravara*, i.e. for *pravare*, not as Ed. *pravaraḥ*.

gaṇa and another. And it is not proper that one person should have different pravaras without a special ruling to that effect. Also, in the world, the same name, Devadatta for instance, belongs to many persons. Again, where a single name in one and the same gaṇa is read by such and such a Sūtra-author in a form which differs (from the other Sūtras) in number length and order of syllables, or in any one or two of these ways, a single person must be considered to be meant, since in spite of the partial difference it is still the same name—according to the maxim: 'That which is altered in a part does not become something else.' We shall therefore explain the gotra-sections already given and those to be given in the sequel on the assumption that they are all the same, that is to say, a name which occurs in one account is the same, because of sameness of pravara, as one which occurs in another account (if the difference lies only in) the addition, alteration, transposition or interposition of sounds.

*First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus.* Because of the pre-eminence of Bhṛgu. This pre-eminence is seen from the passage: 'Of great *ṛṣis*, I am Bhṛgu',[1] and from the mention of Bhṛgu in the Mokṣa-dharma (in the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata*) as a part of Vāsudeva. Thus: 'We shall explain the Bhṛgus, who are first'; or else the phrase is intended to show that they did not become Bhṛgus afterwards only, by reason of adoption (*dvyāmuṣyāyaṇatvena*), since the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas* are given later. Since the gaṇas and pravaras are here self-explanatory, they need not be further explained.

*The Jāmadagnya-Vatsas.* The Vatsas are here qualified as Jamadagnis so that they shall have the fivefold cutting of the sacrificial cake, since Āpastamba says: 'The Jamadagnis have a fivefold cutting.' '*The Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas have no intermarriage: they have a five-fold cutting:*'—this shows that the prohibition of marriage already given is to be inferred also in the Sūtra (of Āpastamba) which prescribes the fivefold cutting. Here, these three gaṇas have no intermarriage, because three of the five *ṛṣis* in their pravaras coincide. And those of the Vatsas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas who have an alternative three-*ṛṣi* pravara have no intermarriage, since two *ṛṣis* coincide. This rule has already been given above.

The other gaṇas, Yaskas, etc., avoid their own gaṇa in marriage, because of identity of pravara, and intermarry with all those already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter, since there is neither identity of gotra nor of pravara. Thus, marriage and non-marriage of the Bhṛgus has been explained.

The Sūtra-authors give four pravaras for the Śunakas, viz.: 'Śaunaka', 'Gārtsamada', 'Bhārgava, Gārtsamada', and 'Bhārgava, Śaunahotra,[2] Gārtsamada'. Scholars debate the question whether these are alternative pravaras. Some think that it is a question of free choice.[3] Others think that it is a 'fixed

[1] *Bhagavadgītā* 10. 25.
[2] Ed. throughout this discussion, Śaunakahotra, Śunakahotra.
[3] Literally 'like the case of rice and barley'—where either is equally good.





option', that is to say, that the alternatives are to be allocated according to the arrangement of families. Now what is this arrangement of families? They say: there are four kinds of Śunakas, differing one from another. Some are descended from Śunaka alone; some from Gṛtsamada alone; others, from Gṛtsamada, the son of Śunahotra, the son of Bhṛgu. Thus, they are united only in the matter of the name 'Śunakas', but are really distinct families; and these four pravaras belong to the separate families.

But why, it is asked, can the matter not be ordered thus: Bhṛgu's son was Śunaka, his son was Śunahotra, his son was Gṛtsamada, and his son was Śunaka, thus making a single family? This is not proper. Why? Because it is forbidden by Satyāṣāḍha, who says: 'The Adhvaryu chooses three, one after the other (*anantarān*), from the near end the more remote ones, etc.' The commentator Mātṛdatta explains the word *anantarān* as 'with no other hymn-composers interposing between them'. In the present case, if there were only one family, there would be hymn-composers interposing. Therefore, as we have said, it is a 'fixed option'. In this way also the alternative pravaras of the Gargas, Haritas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, and Śaṇḍilas, etc., are to be explained by difference of families.

*The Bhṛgus have been explained.* This explicit repetition is used (by Āpastamba) to confer the status of Bhṛgus on the Śunakas and Mitrayus, in whose pravaras the name Bhṛgu does not occur, thus justifying their inclusion in such cases as the Bhṛgus' establishing of the fire according to the *ṛṣi* (*yatharṣyādhānam*), or 'A Bhārgava is Hotṛ'.

Now, it is asked, why do Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi repeat for each separate gaṇa the phrase 'these have no intermarriage', instead of saying it once for all: it would have been fitting, and in accord with the principle of verbal economy, to say, as Gautama does: 'Marriage is with persons having different pravaras.' Those who are learned in the history of the descent of the pravara-chapters give the following refutation: seeing that in the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Blessed Viṣṇu in the form of the Fish says after every gaṇa: 'These have no intermarriage', Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi, who received their text from that source(!), say the same thing. Others say: Baudhāyana and the others say that there is no marriage with members of the same gotra, but do not prohibit those who have the same pravara; and it is to emphasise the latter prohibition that they repeat it after each gaṇa. Still others say: by dint of much repetition (the reader) must come to know it. Others again say: it is simply the practice of these two Sūtra-authors; for surely different people have different practices. So, for example, Baudhāyana, although he says in his first chapter: 'From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu, from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ: this prescription applies throughout', nevertheless with no fear of prolixity, says after every gaṇa 'for the Hotṛ', 'for the Adhvaryu'. Similarly, Āpastamba, etc., in the case of the one-*ṛṣi* pravaras of the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas, etc., says:

'for the Hotṛ', 'for the Adhvaryu'. So also, Āśvalāyana gives the bare pravara throughout, and nothing else. Thus, this is merely the practice of Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi. Still others say: just as a person of the same gotra is nearer akin than one of a different gotra, so one of the same gaṇa[1] is still nearer than one merely of the same gotra, since, being descended from the same *ṛṣi*, he is equal to a brother; and just as marriage in the wider gotra is prohibited as being sinful, so also, in order to show that it is still more sinful within the gaṇa, they give the prohibition after every gaṇa. Still others, wise in their own conceit, perversely explain the meaning to be that *these* (mentioned) may not marry within the gaṇa in question, but others may. This would be to impugn the learning of the two Sūtra-authors, since if this were so, there would be nothing to prohibit members of another gaṇa, even within the same gotra, from marrying into that gaṇa. And such a prohibition is in fact given. Therefore, the meaning is as stated (in the immediately preceding alternative explanation).

[1] Ed.: *sagotrād api samānagotraḥ*; but *gaṇa* is obviously meant.





## CHAPTER III

## THE ANGIRASES

### I. THE GAUTAMAS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

WE shall explain the Angirases:

1. Āyāsyāḥ
2. Śroṇīvedhāḥ
3. Kācākṣayo
4. Mūḍharathāḥ
5. Sātyakayas
6. Tauḍeyāḥ
7. Kaumāravatyās
8. Tauṇḍir
9. Dārbhir
10. Devakiḥ
11. Sātyamugriḥ
12. Kaubāhyā
13. Baudhyā
14. Naikariḥ
15. Svastaiṣakiḥ
16. Kīlālaya
17. Āruṇiḥ
18. Kāṭhoriḥ
19. Kāśīvājāḥ
20. Kākṣīvāḥ
21. Pārthivā iti

These are Āyāsya-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama', etc.

1. Śāradvatā
2. Ābhijitā
3. Rauhiṇyāḥ
4. Kṣīrakarambhāḥ

2 So G; Sk, Rm śroṇi-; Be, U, P, D2 śroṇiceyāḥ; R śroṇiveyā; D1 śroṇīceṣakaḥ; cf. Census Report; Caland, after gaṇa *śubhrādi*, āṇīveyāḥ; M, T āṇiceyāḥ; Bu aṇiceyāḥ.
3 So Ed., M, G, T, Be, U; Bu kauc-; D1 vākṣiḥ; D2 kācābhiḥ; rest omit.
4 So Ed., D, R, Sk; P1 miṭharathāḥ; P2 mūṭharathāḥ; Be, U mūḍhasaṃrathāḥ; B, Caland mūḍhāḥ only.
5 So B, R; A satya-; Sk satyakāya; P2 satyakaṣaḥ; D2 saptakiḥ; S sātykrayaḥ.
6 Conj., cf. the other lists among the Aucathyas (Mān. reads taudeyāḥ—with dental—which Caland conjectures in his footnote); M, G taindehāḥ; T. taideyāḥ; Bu, Caland taidehāḥ; Be, U khedehāḥ; P, Sk, R, D1 svaidehāḥ; D2 syaidehaḥ; Ed. svaidāhāḥ; S staudehāḥ; Rm vaidehāḥ.
7 D2 -vyatyaḥ; S.
8, 9 So Be, U; M, T tauṇḍibhiḥ; G, Bu tauṇḍikiḥ; S tauṇḍinir; P1 tauḍir darbher; Ed. tauḍir darbhir; P2 tauṇḍir darbhir; D1 tāṇḍiḥ darbhiḥ; D2 tauḍidambhi; Sk tauḍaṃdarbhiḥ; R tauṇḍadarbhir.
10 P2, Sk daiv-; P2 places this after no. 11.
11 Sk sātyamuni; Ed. sātya only; S, Ed., D1 include with this the first syllable of the following -kaḥ (-ko); Bu -mugrikaḥ as well as ko- in the next.
12 So A; B ko-; both vary between -vahya and -bāhya; S vabhyā only.
13 So B, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 107; A baubhyā (vaubhyā); Sk vaimyāḥ; D2 bābhyo.
14, 15 Bu kari- only; Rm naukariḥ; Sk taukariḥ; R, D2 naikariḥ; Ed. naika-ṛṣi-; D1 naikariṣṭiḥ; rest, naikari- with no visarga; Be, U, Sk, Caland svastaiṣakiḥ; R stastaiṣakiḥ; P2 svistaiṣaki; Ed., P1 staiṣikiḥ only; D1 staiṣakiḥ; D2 teśikiḥ; M ṣṭikiḥ; G ṣṭiṣṭaiṣīkiḥ; T ṣṭiṣṭaiṇikaḥ; S naikarṣṭiṣṭaiṣikaḥ.
16 So M, T, Be, U; G, Bu, p kil-.
17 So M, cf. the other lists; Caland, S, Ed., D2 kāruṇi; P1 karūṇi; P2 kārūṇi; D1 kāreṇiḥ; R karuṇayaḥ; Sk kāruṭhāya.
18 D kāṭhoraḥ; P2 kahori; P1 kāṭho only; Ed. kaṭhori-.
19 M, G, T, R kāśivājāḥ; S kāśānājā; P kāsī only; Ed. kāsi only; D kāsīkaḥ.
20 So Be, U, P2; P1 kāṃkṣīvā; Ed., D1 kākṣivā; D2 nākṣīvaḥ; R kāksīvāḥ; Sk, Rm sākṣīkaḥ; B omits.
21 So B, D, Sk, R; P, Ed. omit.

1 Corrected by Caland, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 102; T śāradvantā; Be, U śaradvanto; M, G, Bu, Ed., Sk śaradvantā; P2, D śaradvanto; P1 śaraddantā; R śaraddatā.
2 So P, S, Rm; Sk abhijina.
3 P, D2, R roh-.
4 P2 -karabhāḥ; R kṣīraka' bhāḥ; S krītakarambhās.

5. Saumucayaḥ
6. Sauyamunā
7. Aupabindavo
8. Rāhūgaṇā
9. Rāṇayo
10. Mārṣaṇyā iti

These are Śāradvata-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Gautama, Śāradvata', etc.

1. Kaumaṇḍā
2. Māmanthareṣaṇā
3. Māsurākṣāḥ
4. Kāṣṭareṣaya
5. Ūrjāyanā
6. Vānajāyanā
7. Vāśaya iti

These are Kaumaṇḍa-Gautamas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Kaumaṇḍa', etc.

The Dīrghatamases[1] have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya[2], Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Dairghatamasa', etc.

1. Auśanasā
2. Diśyāḥ
3. Praśastāḥ
4. Surūpākṣā
5. Mahodarā
6. Vikaṃhatāḥ
7. Subudhyā
8. Nihitā
9. Guhā iti

These are Auśanasa-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Gautama, Auśanasa', etc.

5 So Be, U; Ed., P1 -cayāḥ (and implied by D); P2 -cāyāḥ; R samuccayaḥ; M, G, T, S saumurayaḥ; Bu saugurayaḥ.
6 So Be, U; R, Sk, D sauyāmunā; P1 sauyāśunāḥ; P2 sopamunāḥ; Ed. saumyāyanā; M sauthāmurā; G, T saudhāmurā; Bu sauyāmura; S sauryāmunir.
7 So Ed., S, D, R, Sk; B raupabhindavo; Be, U, P1 kopibindavo; P2 kauṣavidavoṃ; Caland, suggests aupabindavayaḥ, cf. gaṇa *bahvādi*.
8 So Be, U, Ed., D1; D2, P2 rāhu-; Sk rahū-; P1 rahra-; R rahna-; S rahūgaṇi-.
9 So B (Bu rāṇeyāḥ), cf. gaṇa *pailādi*; Be, U, P, Sk, D1 gaṇayo; D2 kha(?)ṇir; R gaṇamānayo; S rāyaṇo.
10 So M, G; T marṣaṇyā; Bu māṣaṇāḥ; Be, U, P1, D2, R, Ed. māsaṇya; P2 mārāmā; D1 bhārṣaṇyaḥ; Sk bhāṣaṇī; S māṣāṇḍaḥ.

2 So B, Sk, D2, Be, U, S; P1 māmanta īṣaṇā; P2 mānipareṣāṇā; D1 māmandhareṣaṇaḥ; Ed. mandhareṣaṇā; but cf. Schol. to Pāṇ. 2. 4. 66; or does Dīrghatamas Māmateya belong here?
3 So B, Ed., P1, D1; Sk māṃsu-; Be, U māsareṣayaḥ māsurākṣāḥ; P2 māptureṣayo surākṣāḥ; S māsurukṣāḥ.
4 So M, G, Bu; T kāṣa-; S kārṣṭeṣaya; Be, U, P, Ed. kāṣṭha-; Sk kāṣarekhayaḥ; D1 kāṣṭarebhiḥ; D2 kāṣṭarevir.
5 So M, G, Caland (although Caland's comparison of Āpast. is not convincing, since the latter gives ūrjāyana among the Bharadvājas); T ūrjayā; Bu aujāyanā; S ojāyanā; Be, U, P1, Sk āñjāyana; Ed. añj-; D1 āj-; D2 ājāyato; P2 āñjanāyanā.
6 So M, G; T vānā only; Bu, S omit; Ed. P vājāyana; D1 vāyanaḥ; D2 vāñjāyanaḥ; Sk cāñjāyanāḥ; Be, U yājāyanāyā; after this name, D inserts māsureṣiḥ (cf. note 3 above); Sk inserts kākṣīvatāḥ auśijāḥ māsurekhayo.
7 So Be, U, T, G, Sk, S; D1 vāśiriḥ; D2 vārisoṣāṃ; P, Ed. omit; M, Bu pāśaya.

2 So A (but P1 dityāśya; D2 auśanasoddiśya); M, Bu, S diṣṭyāḥ; T diṣṭayaḥ.
3 D2 praśatṣṭaḥ.
4 D1 surūpākṣiḥ; D2 surupakṣo.
6 So Ed., P, Sk, Be, U; D1 vikaṃhantaḥ; D2 virkahataḥ; M, G, T, Caland vigadvakāḥ; Bu pingarakāḥ; S yadandhanā nitaṃhatāḥ.
7 So Ed., D2, P2, Rm; S subuddhyā; P1 suvudhā; D1 subodhyaḥ; Be, U subuddhā; M subudhanyā; G subudhniyā; T subudhnyā; Bu subuddayaḥ.
8 So B, Sk; A, S -hata.
9 Ed., P, Be, U omit (but Sk gives it).

[1] B *dīrghatamānām*; Be, U *dīrghatamasya*.

[2] A, regularly, *autathya*, wherever this name occurs, though Ed. sporadically emends to *auc-*. The spelling with *t* has also found its way into the Mahābhārata.





1. Kāreṇupālayo
2. Vāstavyāḥ
3. Śvetīyāḥ
4. Pauñjiṣṭhaya
5. Audajñāyanā
6. Mādhukṣārā
7. Ājagandhaya iti

These are Kāreṇupāli-Gautamas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Gautama, Kāreṇupāla', etc.

The Vāmadevas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Gautama, Vāmadeva', etc.[1]

There is no intermarriage among any of the Gautamas.

## B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of the Angirases:[2]

The Āyāsya-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama', etc.

The Aucathya-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama', etc.

The Auśija-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Auśija, Kākṣīvata', etc.

[The Bṛhaduktha-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Gautama', etc.][3]

The Vāmadeva-Gautamas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Bārhaduktha', etc.

## C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

We shall explain the Angirases:

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| | | angiraso vyākhyāsyāmaḥ: |
| 1. Aucathyā-Gautamās | 1. Aucathyā-Gautamās | 1. Aucathyā-Gautamās |

2 D2 vāstanya; after this, Be, U, P2 add vāmadevyāḥ.
3 D2 ścetiyaḥ dīyaḥ; S śvedīyāḥ; P2 ścetāyaṃḥ.
4 So T; S paujiṣṭhaya; M, G pauñjiṣṭya; Bu pajiṣṭāḥ; Ed. pauñjiṣṭha; Be, U paumjiṣṭhyā; P1, D1 paujiṣṭā; P2, Sk paujiṣṭhā; D2 pauñjiṣṭaḥ.
5 So Caland, cf. gaṇa *tikādi* (-ni-); Ed., P2, D2 audajāyanā; D1 audājāyanaḥ; P1 yaundajāyanā; Sk audajāyanīḥ; M, G auduñjyāyanā; T, S auduṃjāyanā; Bu audujyāyanāḥ; Be, U audururuṃjāyanā.
6 So P1, D2; Be, U madhu-; Sk sādhu; Ed., P2 māndhu-; D1 mādhukṣaraḥ; B quite differently—M, G, T bāndhukyā; Bu vandhānyā; S aulūkyā; D2 adds bāndhavayaḥ.
7 So Caland; B, S, D2 rāja-; P1, Be, U D1 ajagandhaya(ḥ); P2, Ed., Sk añjagandhā.

1 S, Ed. aucathyā; all the others, autathyā; Sk includes these under the general heading of Śāradvatas, but in fact this one family corresponds to the first three families in Baudh. (in spite of the Āyāsyas being given a separate pravara below).

*W*

1 autathyā g.

*Mān.*

1 oṃ tathyā g.

[1] This family is omitted here by Ed., P.

[2] Ed., P2 *angirasa(ḥ)*; Garbe, etc., *angirasāṃ*.

[3] This family is given by Ed. in a footnote only, with the comment that, although it appears in the text of the Sūtra, it is not found in the manuscript of the *Pravara-mañjarī*. But in fact there is no trace of it here in any of the other sources whatever.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2. Tauleyā | 2. Tauḍeya- | 2. Tauḍeyā |
| 3. Abhijito | 3. Abhijita- | 3. Abhijita- |
| 4. Naikarayo | †vauddhāya- | †voghāya- |
| 5. ? laugākṣi- | nikākṣi-† | naikāka-† |
| 6. Rāhūgaṇyaḥ | 6. Rāhūgaṇyā | 6. Rāhūgaṇyā⟨ḥ⟩ |
| 7. Kṣīrakaṭa †iti† | 7. †kheṭika- | 7. Kṣairakaṭa- |
| 8. Kaḍūkarāṇām | 12? saunarīṇām | †aikastamarāṇām |
| 9. Saindhava- | 17. kairāta- | kairāti- |
| 10. Gatava- | 18. śāratāyīnām† | sāralopānām |
| 11. Sāṃkara- | | 17. karoti- |
| 12. †mauminīnām | | 18. kāśapārīṇām† (dittogr?) |
| 13. Pauṣpiṇḍi- | 13. Pauṣpiṇḍya- | 13. Pauṣpiṇḍa- |
| 14. Bhāgala- | 14. Bhāgala- | 14. Bhāgala- |
| | †valaudrāṇām | †vaḍauḍavānāmm |
| 15. Tuṇḍa- | | |
| 16. Kuṇḍavānām | | |
| 17. Kāroṭa- | | |
| 18. Kāravāriṇām | | |
| 19. Upabindur | 19. Aupabindo | 19. Upabindur |
| 20. Mānthareṣaṇayo | 20. Mānthareṣā | 20. Mānthareṣāṇām |
| 21. Rauhiṇāyanā | 21. Rauhiṇāyanā | 21. ⟨Rauhiṇā⟩yanā |
| 22. Āṅgārakāḥ | 22. Āṅgārakāḥ | 22. †amalakā |
| | krolayanāḥ | krolayimāḥ |
| | . . . | kraucāḥ† |

2 So P2, D; P1 taulepā; Ed. tāleyā; S sthauleyā; Sk kṣaūlema. Read possibly tauḷeyā (=tauḍeya, Baudh., Āyāsyas, no. 6).
4 So R, Sk; Ed., P1, D1 naiṣaki; D2 naiṣiki; P2 naiki.
5 So Ed., P, D2; D1 laukākṣi (this is the better reading, if indeed the name belongs here).
6 Restored; D1 karagoṇyaḥ; Ed. karasogiṇyaḥ; P, D2, R, Sk, S karabhogiṇyaḥ.
7 So Ed., S; the word iti is strange, and is in fact omitted by P1; P2 kṣīravaṭa iti; P1, D2 ksīrakaraṭa; D1 kṣīrakaraṇṭaḥ.
8 So P, D1; D2 kaṇḍūkaraḥ; R vaḍūkarāḥ; Ed. kaṭūkara; S kaṇḍūkarāṇām.
9 So D, Sk; Ed., P saidhava; R saibhravā; S sodha.
10 So Ed., R, Sk, D1, S; P1 satavagātava; D2 ganava; P2 omits.
11 Sk sāṃgara; D2 sākaraḥ.
12 So Ed.; P1 maumīnīnāṃ; P2 mauminīnā; D1 somaniḥ; D2 saumini; R saumitayaḥ; Sk saumivayaḥ; S kaumelīnāṃ.
13 So Sk; D1 pauṣyaṇḍi; D2 pauṣyaṃdri; P1 pauvyidi; P2 paupiḍi; R yauṣpiṇḍayo; Ed. yaupiṇḍi; S paipiṇḍi.
14 D2 mārgalaḥ.
15 D2 tuḍaḥ.
16 So Ed., P1, Sk; P2 kuḍāvanā; D1 kuṇḍoba; D2 kuḍūvaḥ; R tru(?)ṃdavāḥ.
17 So Ed., D, Sk; P2, R -ṭha; P1 -da; S kaṭhora; this last is probably the better reading, corresponding to Baudh. Āyāsyas, no. 18 (kāṭhori); note, however, that the Matsya account has karoṭa.
18 So P; Sk, R kāsavārayo; Ed. kārādhāriṇām; D kāravāriḥ; S vyāravāriṇām.
19 So Ed., P2, D1; P1 vidu only; D2 rupabindur.
20 Conj., cf. Schol. to Pāṇ. 2. 4. 66 (and see Baudh. Kaumaṇḍas no. 2 māmanthareṣaṇa); Ed., D1 māndharyo; P1 mādhaukṣe; P2 pādārṣe; D2 māṃgharṣo; Rm māndyarthā iṣavo; R mādharṣā iṣavo; S mādharṣe.
21 Conj., cf. W, Matsya and Baudh. Śāradvatas, no. 3; all the sources here, rohitāyana (P1 rohitoyena).
22 Sk, R angārakāḥ (and cf. W); Ed. angāyanakās; P2 angāyanakāt-; S angāyanakārt-; P1, D omit.

*W*

2 taudheyā-.
6 rāhukaṇyā.
13 pauṣpidya-.
14 bhāgata-.
19 aupamanya.
20 pāthāreṣu.

*Mān.*

2 taudeyā.
6 rāhūkaṇyā.
19 mupavidu.
20 māndhareṣāṇāṃ.
21 yanā (only).





| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 23. Kroṣṭā | 23. Kroṣṭā | 23. Kroṣṭā |
| 24. Āruṇayaḥ | 24. Āruṇayaḥ | 24. Āruṇayaḥ |
| 25. Pārthivā | 25. Pārthivāḥ | 25. Pārthivā |
| 26. Maudahāyanāḥ | | 26. †saudāmini |
| 27. Skānda- | | 36. Kācākṣa- |
| 28. Sarāva- | | 29. †kauralyā |
| 29. Kauṭilyā | | akṣa- |
| 30. †narohityā | | apādapakṣa-† |
| 31. †nīcayo | (lacuna) | 32. Vāsamūli- |
| 32. Vāsamūlayo | | †vaṃśamulmiṃ- |
| 33. Vāsapuṣpayo | | śapitṛ-† |
| 34. Vāsastevayo | | 33. Vāsapuṣpiḥ |
| 35. Vāsadhūpayaḥ | | †sauṣya- |
| 36. Kācākṣi- | | †saukṣmāyana- |
| 37. Kṣapā | | kauḍalyā† |
| 38. †cīraṣi- | | ity eteṣāṃ avivāhas teṣāṃ |
| 39. kareli- | . . bhavati: | tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati: |
| 40. karālī_iti† | āṅgirasautathya gautameti | āṅgirasautathya gautama |
| | hotā, etc. | [auśija kākṣiteti], etc.[1] |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama', etc.

(W and Mān. omit the Dairghatamasas and continue:) Āyāsyānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati: āṅgirasāyāsya gautameti hotā, etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| uśijā . . . (lacuna) . . . †dv†iti | |
| hotā kakṣīvatavad uśijavad | |
| gautamavad autathyavad an- | (lacuna) |
| girovad ity adhvaryuḥ. | |

23 Conj., cf. Matsya, Mān., W; for nos. 23, 24 Ed. tauṣṭyaruṇayaḥ; D1 toṣyakāniḥ; D2 tośāruṇiḥ; P1 kāsteṣyaruṇayāḥ; P2 syauṣṇyarūrūṇayaḥ; Sk śaulāyanāḥ kāstoṣṇayo 'ruṇiḥ; R kraulāyanāḥ kāstaurṣṇayoruṇayaḥ; S omits nos. 23–33.
25 P1 pārthevai.
26 P1 mād-; D1 maid-; D2 maudāhayanaḥ.
27 So R, P1, D1; D2 skāda; Sk skanda; Ed., P2 skārda.
28 So R, P2, D2, Ed.; Sk sarava; P1 śarāva; D1 sārvaḥ.
29 Ed. kāṭ-.
30 So Ed., P1, D; P2 harohihyā; R, Sk omit.
31 So Ed.; D1 nīcir; D2 nīvir (corr. from nīṣir); P1 nivayor; P2 nāyayo; R, Sk omit.
32 P2 -layor.
33 P2 vāsapurṣpor.
34 P2 -steyor; S sotsavayo.
35 D1 -dhūpaḥ. For these four names in vāsa-, ChRao apparently thought that the vā- was the particle 'or', and prints nīcayovā samūlayovā sapuṣpayovā, etc.; and in D1, he prints nīcirvā samūlirvā sapuṣpirvā, etc.
36 So P2, D2, Sk, R, S; D1 kāv-; Ed., P1 kāñc-.
37 P1 (-i)rapā; R kṣayā; S kṣapya; rest kṣapā.
38 So P2; Ed. vīraṣi; P1 cīraḥṣi; D1 vāraṣiḥ; D2 vārasiḥ; Rm vāraṇayaḥ; Sk vārarṣayaḥ; R vāraṣayaḥ; S tārati.
39 So P, R, D; Sk karalayaḥ; Ed. karela; S kaceli.
40 So Ed., P; D1 karāḷiḥ; D2 kaśālir; R karālayaḥ; S karācīhī; Sk, Rm omit.

*W*

24 ārūṇayaḥ.

*Mān.*

24 ăruṇayaḥ.
25 pāthicā.
36 kāvākṣa.
32 vaṃśamūli.
33 ṣaṃśupaṣpiḥ.

[1] The last two names are clearly derived from the missing Auśijas, cf. W.

The Dairghatamasas[1] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasa', etc.

The Āyāsya-Gautamas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama', etc.[2]

The Āyāsya-Auśija-Gautamas[3] have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āyasya, Auśija, Gautama, Kākṣīvata', etc.

[For the Vāmadevas, see below among the Kevala Angirases, among whom they are misplaced by all three Sūtra versions, as well as by the Matsya.]

(*Puruṣottama adds the comment:* 'In this section Laugākṣi's reading in the Adhvaryu's pravara is everywhere *angirasvat*.')[4]

### D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Gautamas, 'Āngirasa, Āyāsya, Gautama'.
Of the Ucathyas, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama'.
Of the Rāhūgaṇas, 'Āngirasa, Rāhūgaṇya, Gautama'.
Of the Somarājakas,[5] 'Āngirasa, Saumarājya, Gautama'.
Of the Vāmadevas, 'Āngirasa, Vāmadevya, Gautama'.
Of the Bṛhadukthas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Gautama'.
Of the Pṛṣadaśvas, 'Āngirasa, Pārṣadaśva, Vairūpa'. But some say Aṣṭādaṃṣṭra in place of Āngirasa, 'Āṣṭādaṃṣṭra, Pārṣadaśva, Vairūpa'.[6]
Of the Ṛkṣas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa'.
Of the Kakṣīvants, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama, Auśija, Kākṣīvata'.
Of the Dīrghatamases, 'Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasa'.

### E. *Matsya Purāṇa*[7]

The fish said: O king, the famous daughter of Marīci, Surūpā by name, was the wife of Angiras. She had ten divine sons, Ātmā, Āyus, Manas,[8] Dakṣa, Dama,[9] Prāṇa, Haviṣmant, Gaviṣṭha, Ṛta,[10] and Satya, these ten, Angirases by name, are divine Soma-drinkers.[11] Surūpā bore these *ṛṣis*, lords of all; and

[1] So Ed. (*dairghatamasānāṃ*); P 1 *dairghatamānāṃ* (cf. Baudh., *paribhāṣā*, above, p. 66); P 2 *dīrghatamasāṃ*.
[2] P 1 omits this family.
[3] D equates these with the Kaumaṇḍas of Baudh., and the Auśijas of Āpast.
[4] P 1 omits the comment. All the other Sūtras regularly have *angirovat*. Cf. above, p. 23.
[5] Ed. alone *saumarājakīnām*.
[6] Ed., P 1 omit the alternative; the other sources have *aṣṭādaṃṣṭra* in the pravara. This family and the following do not of course belong to the Gautamas, and in spite of the unanimity of the sources, we may suspect a dislocation in the text; cf. the other lists among the Kevala Angirases.
[7] Puruṣottama cites the Matsya list below, with the Bharadvājas; we give it here for convenience of reference.
[8] M *damano*.
[9] M *sadaḥ*.
[10] So M; p *kratuḥ*.
[11] So M with P 1 (*somapāyinaḥ*); Ed., P 2 Sāman-singers (*sāmagayinaḥ*).





Bṛhaspati, and Gautama, and Saṃvarta the great *ṛṣi*, and Āyāsya,[1] and Vāmadeva, and Ucathya, and Uśija. All these *ṛṣis* are said to be founders of gotras; learn from me the founders of gotras who are sprung from their gotras:

1. Ucathyo
Gautamaś caiva
2. Tauleyo
3. (A)bhijitas tathā
†sārdhanemiḥ
5. śa-laugākṣiḥ
7. †kṣīraḥ
kauṣṭikir eva ca†
6. Rāhūgaṇyaḥ
12. †saupuriś ca
Kairātiḥ

Sāmalomakiḥ
13. Pauṣpiṇḍir
14. Bhāgalaś caiva
†ṛṣiś caṇḍāntakas tathā
17. Karoṭaḥ
18. Kāravārī ca
19. Upabinduḥ
20. †suraiṣiṇaḥ
21. Rauhiṇāyani-
†corāṇiḥ

23. Kroṣṭaś caiva
24. Āruṇāyaniḥ
26. Maudahāyani-
†kāsoru-
29. Kauṭilyāḥ
25. Pārthivās tathā
30? †rauhiṇeyā-
nirodhānma†
32. mūlayo
vasur eva ca

1 So Ed., P 2; M agrees with the rest in reading ut-.
2 So M; Ed., P 2 naileyo; P 1 taileyo.
†sārdhanemiḥ, so M; Ed., P 2, D 1 baudhir nagaḥ; Sk baudhaya(ḥ) naga; R vopayo nagaḥ; P 1 vodhi naṃgaḥ; D 2 bodhigaḥ nai-.
5 So M; Ed. saugamākṣi; P 1 sugonākṣiḥ; P 2, D, R, Rm sugomākṣiḥ; Sk sugomāpakṣa.
7 So M (presumably corresponds in some way with kṣīrakaṭa of the other lists); Ed. kṣīrayo rikir eva ca; P 1 ṭoṭikirova ca; P 2 ksīraṭo ṭikir eva ca; D ksīraṭaḥ ṭikiḥ (D 1 ṭekiḥ); Sk ksīrayaṣṭikayo; R ksiraṭāṣṭikayo.
6 Restored; the original Matsya reading was presumably rāhukarṇiḥ (so M, Sk); R rāhūkarṇayaḥ; P 2 rahukarṇiś ca; D 1 bāhukarṇiḥ; Ed. rāhoḥ karṇi; P 1 rāhoḥ karṇika; D 2 rāhuḥ karṇiḥ.
12 So D 1, M; D 2 pauriḥ; R, P 2 sauputriḥ; Sk saumutrayaḥ; Ed. saupatriś ca; P 1 sapauriś ca. All the sources agree in the two following names, with which compare Mān. and W.
13 Restored; Ed. paiṣkañjatir; P 2 paiṣkaṃjitir; P 1, D 2 pauṣkaṃjitir; D 1 pauṣkajitiḥ; Sk pauṣkajitayo; R pauṣṇajitayo; M 1 pauṣajitir; M 2 pauṣājitir.
14 Restored; Ed. bhārgatavo; P 1 bhāgatrayo; P 2 bhagatrovau; D 1 bhāgavittiḥ; D 2 bhāgatrir; R bhāgatrāś; Sk māgatrā; M bhārgavato.
Ed. hy ṛṣiś caṇḍantakas tathā; P 1 candrādālakas; P 2 caṇḍālakas; D 1 cāḍālakaḥ; D 2 ścāḍālakaḥ; R caṇḍāḍakāḥ; Sk ḍāṇḍakāḥ; M cairīdavas.
17 P 1 -da.
18 Conj. restored; p has corrupted this into two epithets for the preceding name, sutapāḥ vīraḥ (so Ed., P 2; P 1 suvatapā), which are in turn taken as proper names by the nibandhas, D sutapāḥ vīraḥ; R, Sk sutayāḥ; M karoṭakaḥ sajīvī ca.
19 Ed., P -daḥ.
20 So all (M as dual compound with preceding; Sk -eṣiṇaḥ).
21 So Sk; R -āyanamaḥ; P, D 2 -eyo ni-; Ed. -eyā ni-; D 1 rauhiṇaḥ; M vāhinīpati; M 2 gives variant, rohiṇāyanir.
†(ni)corāṇi, Ed., D 1; P 1 niverāṇa; P 2 nicaurāṇi; D 2 nirāṇiḥ; M -vaiśālī.
23 So M (but both with wrong sandhi, kroṣṭā caivā-); Ed. koṣṭhaś cevā-; D 1 koṣṭhaḥ; D 2, P koṣṭaś caivā-; Sk kroṣṭāvanayaḥ; R krauṣṭā.
24 So M, Ed., P 2, D 1; Sk ăruṇāyanaḥ; D 2 ăruṇāyaniḥ; R āruṇāyanamaḥ; P 1 -ārunārāyaniḥ.
26 Conj.; M 1 somotrāyani; M 2 somo 'trāyani; Ed. somodayani; P 2 somadāyanikaḥ; P 1 somedāyani; D 1 somadāyanaḥ; D 2 somadāyaniḥ; R, Sk saudāmanayaḥ.
†kāsoru, Ed., P 1, D, M; P 2 -kaḥ soruḥ; R kāsoravaḥ; Sk kāsauna; Rm kāsoṣāḥ.
29 Conj.; M, Sk kauśalya; R kausośalyā; Ed., P 1 kaiśilya; P 2, D 2 kauśilyo; D 1 kauśilyāyanaḥ.
30 M rauhiṇyayanirevāgnī; P 1, Ed., R rauhiṇeyā; P 1 rauhiṇoyo; Sk rohiṇeyo; Ed. nirodhānma-; P 1, D 2 nirodhaś ca; D 1 rodho- (taken as one name with the next); P 2 nicādhānna-; R kārodhanayo; Sk kārādhamayaḥ.
32 Apparently an error of the original Matsya author (i.e. for the one name vāsamūli); M mūlapaḥ; P 2 bhūlayo; rest mūlayo (D mūliḥ); M pāṇḍur eva ca; rest vāsu (but D 2 yāsu).

[1] M *utathyaṃ vāmadevaṃ ca ajasyam ṛṣijaṃ tathā.* M 2 prints the corruption, in spite of the fact that one of its sources, quoted in a footnote, has almost the correct reading, *ayasyam uṣijaṃ*.

36. Kācākṣi- †kṣārakāraṇḍir eva ca †viśvantireviś ca
33. puṣpayaś caiva 37. Kṣapā †pācikārevir eva ca

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara: hear their pravaras: Angiras, and Ucathya, and Uśija the great *ṛṣi*.[1] These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

We shall now explain these Gautama-sections. The points we have already mentioned above in the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra sections, from the words: 'In the gotra-sections here quoted', down to 'We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgus)', are all to be repeated here at the beginning of the explanation of the Gautama-gotra-sections, since they apply equally.

The Pṛṣadaśvas and the Ṛkṣas, who are mentioned here among the Gautama gotra-gaṇas by Āśvalāyana, have their chief mention in the sequel, as is seen by the fact that Gautama does not appear in their pravaras, and by the identity of pravara with the Rathītaras and Bharadvājas as given below; and they must be considered to have no intermarriage with them also. The same conclusion results from their mention below by the other Sūtra-authors. The question arises as to what justification could have occurred to the mind of Āśvalāyana for their inclusion among the Gautama-gaṇas; but their mention in the sequel has a perfectly clear justification.

Since the gaṇas and the pravaras here are already explained by the fact of their mere mention, there is no further need of explanation. And wherever there is a conflict of opinion as to the number, one, two, or three, or the order, of the pravara-*ṛṣis* in any one gaṇa, the question is to be decided by customary usage, since the Sūtra-authors depended on customary usage from one source or another (for their information about) the pravaras.

Leaving aside, then, the Ṛkṣa and Pṛṣadaśva gaṇas, all the gaṇas of the Gautamas are to be deemed to avoid their own gaṇa in marriage and to have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra. They belong to the same gotra because they are descended from Gautama who is one of the Seven *Ṛṣis*. And *a fortiori* there is no marriage within their own gaṇas, because of identity of pravara. Moreover, Baudhāyana expressly states: 'There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas.'

36 Restored; Ed. kāpākṣi; P1 kāvāpākṣi; P2 kāryākṣiḥ; M omits this and the two following.
33 Conj.; but in any case it is an error of the Matsya for Vāsapuṣpi; Ed. puṣpavaś caiva; P1 puṣyavaś; D, P2 puṣpavāṃś; R, Sk puṣpavantaḥ.
P1 kṣārakārāṇḍir-.
37 So M; Ed. kṣayo; P1 kṣepā; P2 kṣayā.
†viṣvantireviś ca, Ed., P2; P1 -eviśra; D visvantiḥ visvaḥ; M viśvakaro 'riś ca; P2 pācikārevir eva ca; Ed., p. evat (*sic*); P1 yācikārevir eva ca; D2 pāvikāreviri (*sic*); D1 pātvikāreviḥ; M pārikārārir eva ca; R pāvikā revayaḥ; Sk vāvikaḥ revayaḥ.

[1] So according to D (*āngirasautathauśijeti veti mātsye*); P, Ed. *angiraś ca vacotiś ca*; M *angirā suvacotathyaḥ*; read *angiraś ca tathocathyaḥ*. The pravara is none the less peculiar, and it is very probable that the Matsya or its source is again defective. (Cf. perhaps the lacuna in the Mānava account.)





## 2. THE BHARADVĀJAS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

1. Bharadvājāḥ
2. Kṣāmyāyaṇā
3. Māgaṇḍā
4. Devāśvā
5. Udvahavyāḥ
6. Prāgvaṃśayo
7. Vāhalayo
8. Bādhyogā
9. Vāsināyanās
10. Taidehā
11. Āślā
12. Aukṣnā
13. Bhūrayaḥ
14. Pāriṇaddheyāḥ
15. Śaikheyāḥ
16. Śauddhakaya
17. Urūḍhāḥ
18. Khārigrīvaya
19. Aupaśayo
20. Vayokṣibhedā
21. Āgniveśyā
22. Vedhāḥ
23. Śaṭhā
24. Gaurivāyaṇāś
25. Celakāḥ
26. Stanakarṇā
27. Urūkṣā
28. Māṇabhindavyāḥ
29. †kahvodankās
30. Taulvalayo
31. Vailāḥ

2 D1 kṣyām-; D2 kāmyāyaṇa; P2 kṣābhyā-.
3 So S; M, G, Bu, Caland māmaṇḍā; T māmaṃthā; Be maṃgādā; U, P, D maṃgaḍā; Ed. măgaṇḍā; Rm mengaḍā; Sk bhegaṇāḥ (Caland reports bhegayāḥ); P2 adds urūḍhaḥ after this.
4 P1 -śvān.
5 S uddālagāḥ; D2 ūrddhahavyaḥ; Sk dvaṃdvahavyāḥ.
6 Ed. -vāśayo; P2 -vaśayo; P1 pragayośayo.
7 Conj.; Caland vāhalayā; M, G, T -gā; Ed. -vā; Bu vālākāḥ; P1 cāhalabhā; D2 vāhalabho; D1 vāhalabhyaḥ; Sk vāhalakṣāḥ; P2 devala; Be, U devahelā; S vāśala.
8 Conj., cf. gaṇa *haritādi* (also in Śatapatha Br.); Be, U, P1, Sk, Caland bā(vā)hyogā; P2 bhāradvyogāḥ; D1 vāhyaḥ; D2 vātyo; M vandyogā; G, T vandhyogā; Bu vaṇḍyagā; Ed. dvyaugā.
9 So Ed., Caland, cf. Pāṇ. 6. 4. 174 (where, however, -āyani); M, T vāśi-; G bāśi-; Bu vaśi-; Be, U vāsa-; P2 vasa-; P1 vasīmā-; Sk vasītā-; D1 govāsīnaḥ; D2 vasinas.
10 So B, Caland, D2, P1, Sk; D1 staidehaḥ; P2 saudehā; Ed. staudehā; S -stedehā.
11 So Be, U, Sk, D1; P1 attāślā; D2 aśvaḥ; P2 āśātrā; Ed. ātrā; S āśnā; B ājñā.
12 Conj., cf. Pāṇ. 6. 4. 173; A, Bu aukṣā; M authā; G aukthyā; T audhā; S aukvā; D1 ākṣā; cf. Mān.
13 S bhū-; Sk śū-.
14 So Caland (after Rm); G pāri-; Be, U, M, P2 pari-; P1, D1 pariṇadveyāḥ; D2 pariṇaheyaḥ; Sk pāriṇadreyāḥ; S pāriṇadyeyāś; Bu vāriṇekeyāḥ; Ed. pariṇaddhedhaḥ.
15 So B, S; A keśakheyāḥ; Ed. keśasveyāḥ; D1 keśaravayaḥ.
16 So M, G; T śauddhikaya; Bu śaukhaya; S, Be, U, Sk śaudvaya; Ed. sauddhaya; P2, D śauddhayaḥ; P1 śaiddhaya.
17 So G, T, Be, U; M ūru-; Bu aurū-; Ed., Sk, D1 urū-; P2 uru-; D2 urū only; P1 uruga; S dūḍhāḥ.
18 So B, D, P1, Ed.; Be, U khāra-; P2 svāra-; S gāri-.
19 So B, S; P2 -sayo; P1 śopasayo; Ed. ausayo; Sk aupavasayaḥ; D1 aupasiviḥ; D2 aupatiḥ (corr. from -siḥ); read Aupaśivi? (Vāj. Prāt.).
20 P1 vayośibheyā.
21 So B, Rm; Ed. agniveśā; Sk, S, D, P ăgniveśyā.
22 So B; Ed. veśyāś; S vyavāyā; Be, U veśāḥ; rest omit.
23 So M, Bu, Ed., P1, D; P2 śāṭhā; Be, U śaga; T śvalā; G śām; Sk śayaḥ.
24 G, Bu, Ed., P2, D -nāś; P1 gori-; Sk -vāvanāḥ; M bhauri-; Be, U gausvālārekhāyanāḥ (but all with dental -n-).
25 So Be, U, T, Caland (but without visarga); M, G śveḷakā; S, Sk khelakāḥ; P1 velahā; Ed. śvelakā; P2 lekhakā; Bu caurūkāḥ.
26 S -stanu-.
27 So M, G; Bu aur-; T ur-; Ed., P, D, Sk ṛkṣa; S parokṣā; Be, U rukṣa.
28 So M, T, S; G -bhindaghrāḥ; Bu -bhandavyāḥ; Ed., D1 -bhidyaḥ; P1 māṇavindyāḥ; P2, D2, Sk mānibhindyāḥ; Be, U māṇabhindyāḥ.
29 So M, G; T kāṇvo; S kāmbodakās; Bu kasodakāḥ; Be, U kadvodakāḥ kaṃjovakāḥ; Sk kadvādakāḥ; P2 kahvodako; Ed. kāṣṭhodakā; P1 kāddevamekāḥ; D1 kadovamekaḥ; D2 kavdovamekaḥ.
30 Conj., cf. Pāṇ. 2. 4. 61 and the other lists; the archetype, however, had taujvalayo—so M, T, Bu, S; Be, U, P1, D1 svojva-; P2 svaujva-; D2 śvojva-; Sk saujva-; Ed. jvalayo only.
31 So Bu, Ed., P2, Sk; P1, D velāḥ; M, G, T, S veṇaḥ.

32. Khāraṇādayo
33. Bhāruṇḍeyā
34. Mādrapathayaḥ
35. †saurobhangāḥ
36. Śungā
37. Daivamataya
38. Iṣumatā
39. Audameghayaḥ
40. Pravāhaṇeyāḥ
41. Kalmāṣā
42. Rājastambhiḥ
43. Sudhūpakṛd
44. Vārāhayo
45. Valabhikayo
46. Rudrāngapathāḥ
47. Śālāhalayo
48. Devavelā
49. Mahāvelā
50. Niviñcyāyanā
51. Dhānyāyanāḥ
52. Śālālayaḥ
53. Śārdūlayaḥ
54. †kātkalā
55. †vātkalāḥ
56. †saihyakelāḥ
57. Krauḍāyanāḥ
58. Kauṇḍinyā
59. Brahmastambhā
60. Rājastambhā
61. Agnistambhā
62. Vāyustambhāḥ
63. Sūryastambhāḥ
64. Somastambhā
65. Yamastambhā
66. Indrastambhā

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32 So emended by Caland, after gaṇa *bāhvādi* (where, however, Böhtlingk prints dental -n-); M, G, khāru-; T dvayo; S kāruṇā-dayo; Bu khāruṇāḥ deyāḥ; Be, U khāruḍāde-veyā; P 1 khārūḍādayo; P 2 khā/rūḍā devayo; D 1 khāruḍaḥ deviḥ; D 2 khārujedeyiḥ; Sk khauraḍā devayo; cf. Mān. khāriṇādi.
33 So B, S; Ed. bhar-; P 1 starūḍemyā; P 2 bharūṇḍeya; Sk bharuṇḍayoḥ; D 1 bharu-ḍeyaḥ; D 2 bhāruḍeyo.
34 So M, G, T, S; Bu mātra-; Be, U bhadra-rathā; P 1 bhadrāthayaḥ; P 2 bhadrāpatvā; Ed. bhadrādhayaḥ; D bhadrādhi; Sk bhadrā-dayaḥ.
35 ? So M, G, T, Caland; Bu saurarbhagāḥ; S śrutohagāḥ; A saurabharāḥ (P 2 sorabharāḥ, D 1 saurabhaḥ).
36 So S, Bu, p (but D 1 śṛṅgaḥ); Be, U śṛṅgā; M, G subhangā; T subhangā.
37 So M, G, T, cf. gaṇa *taulvalyādi*; rest, deva-.
38 S -matayo; Sk -mātra; P 1 -vatā; Caland suggests aiṣumatā, for which cf. Mān., W, no. 15.
39 So Be, U, P 2, D 1; cf. gaṇa *pailādi* and the other lists; M, G, baudome-; T vaidādome; Bu dodaḥ me-; S vodame-; Ed. vaudodame-; P 1 mauvaudame-; Sk audya-meyayaḥ; D 2 audamedhiḥ; P 2 adds also baudoṃta.
40 Cf. gaṇa *śubhrādi*; P 2 prevāhaṇoyāḥ; cf. Pāṇ. 7. 3. 28.
41 Ed. kalmāśva; P 1 kalyāṇaṃsā.
42 So B, P 2, Ed., D 1; P 1 -staṃvi; D 2 -sumbhiḥ; Sk -stavayaḥ; Be, U -stambāḥ; but rājastambhā also occurs below, no. 60, and it is doubtful whether the name really belongs here.
43 ? So B; Be, U sādhyupakṛtayo; Sk saṃdhopakṛtayaḥ; P 1 saṃyodhopakṛta; Ed. sadyopakṛta; D 2 sadyopakṛtiḥ; D 1 sagho-ṣakṛtiḥ; P 2 sadhopakṛta; S sindūpakṛd.
44 So M, G, T, S; cf. the other lists; Bu parāhayā; Be, U rāhayo only; p, D, Sk parāharayo.
45 So M, G, T, Caland; Ed., P -bhī; D 1 karabhīkiḥ; D 2 balamekiḥ; Sk balabhokayo; Be, U valabhayo; Bu upalaṃbhikayāḥ; S valabhīgayo.
46 So Ed., P 1, D 1; D 2 -pṛthuḥ; P 2 rūdrāga-; Be, U, Sk -yathāḥ; M, G, T, Caland ugrāṃ-gatā; Bu indrohatāḥ.
47 So B, Ed., P 1, D 2; S śailāhilino; P 2 śālādihayo; D 1 śālāhāriḥ.
48 So B; A veda- (P 1 vedavelāyanaḥ; Sk velāḥ only).
49 Only in B, D (S maho-).
50 So M, G; T nipiñcā-; Bu rajyā-; S ṛñjā-; Ed., P 1, D 1, Sk, Be, U nṛtyā-; P 2 bhṛttyā-; D 2 natyā-; Sk adds also nṛtyāḥ.
51 So D 1 only; D 2, B dhānyāyanāḥ; A, S omit; cf. gaṇa *aśvādi*.
52 Sk śāla-; Ed. śalā-; D 1 śālāniḥ; D 2 śātvāliḥ; śālayaḥ.
54 So G, Bu; T kārkalāḥ (with this Caland compares Pāṇ. 4. 2. 145—kārkaṇa—but this is most improbable); M kātkakalā; S tatkalāḥ; Be, U kalākṣalā; P 2 kālakṣalā; P 1, Ed. kākṣalā; Sk kākṣalayaḥ; D kakṣalo.
55 So Bu, S; M, G vākkalāḥ; T phātkalāḥ; A bāṣkalā (vā-).
56 So G, M -kalāḥ; Bu saihyāḥ kaindāḥ; T sahyakelāḥ; S sahyakasindhāḥ; Be, U sātyaketāḥ; Ed. ṣedhyakaidhāḥ; P 2 saihva-kaidhāḥ; P 1 sehyakedhāḥ; Sk sahyakeyāḥ; D 1 saiṃhakeyaḥ; D 2 saihakeyaḥ.
57 So Caland, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 80 (krauḍi); M, G, Bu kroḍ-; T krauṭh-; D, Be, U, Ed., Sk, P 1 kauṇḍ- (P 1 corr. from krauṇḍ-; for kauṇḍāyana, cf. gaṇa *pakṣādi*); P 2 kauḍ-; Caland's comparison of Kātyāyana (i.e. W)—krolāyana—is wrong; the latter name occurs there among the Gautamas, *q.v.*; but Mān. cites a krauṇḍāyana (W koḍāyana) among the Garga-Bharadvājas.
58 So P 2, Rm, D (as an emendation, however?), cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; Sk krauḍinya; Ed., P 1 kauṇḍilya (P 1 corr. from krauṇḍilya); M, G krauḍilya; T krauḍhilya; Bu kāṇḍilyāḥ; Be, U kauḍilyā.





67. Viṣṇustambhā
68. Yajñastambhā
69. Āpastambhā
70. ye cānye stambha-śabdāḥ
71. Sviṣṭā
72. Āruṇasindhuḥ
73. Kaumudagandhiḥ
74. Śaktiḥ
75. Kauśivāyanā
76. Ātreyāyaṇāḥ
77. Bhāmaṇyā
78. Dhūmagandhāḥ
79. †kukāḥ
80. Kaukākṣayo
81. Naitundayo
82. Dārbhayaḥ
83. Śyāmeyā
84. Matsyakrāthāḥ
85. Kaukvāyanāḥ
86. Kārupathayaḥ
87. Kārīṣāyaṇāḥ
88. Kāmbalyā iti

These are Bharadvājas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja", etc.

[1.Raukṣāyaṇāḥ
2. Kapilāḥ
3. Śabalāḥ
4. (Śaipilā)
5. Vibhiṇḍayaḥ
6. Kauthumo
7. (A)gnijihvī ca
8. Karṇāś ca
9. Sūtaś ca

These are] Raukṣāyaṇas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa', etc.

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67 Ed., P 1, D 2, Sk place this before no. 65; P 2, D 1 omit.
68 B only (S also omits nos. 67–9).
69 Sk -mbāḥ.
70 I.e. whose names end in -stambha; possibly we should read stambha-stamba-śabdāḥ—so D 1, Be, U; P 1 stambhāva-śavdā; Ed. stambha-stambha (with -ba in brackets) -śabdā; P 2 stabaḥ/stambha-śabdāḥ; D 2 āyastambaḥ śav-dāntāḥ; Sk, in spite of reading āpastamba, stambha-śabdāḥ only.
71 So B; S śiṣṭa; A omits.
72 So B, Ed.; S āruṇi-; Be, U abha (or ama)ṇasindhava; P 2 āraṇā-; P 1 āraṇyāki-; Sk āruṇyaḥ sindhavaḥ; D aruniḥ (D 2 -aḥ) sindhuḥ.
73 So B; A plural; D 1 kumuda-.
74, 75 So B; S śaktiḥ śākivāyanā; for both, Be, U, P, Ed., Sk śikhāyanā; D 1 śikṣāyaṇaḥ; D 2 tribhavoyanaḥ.
76 So A. S; Sk mātre-; M, G, T ātreyaṇā; Bu āmrāṇāḥ.
77 So Be, U; Ed., P 2, Sk bhāmāṇyā; D māmanya (dental); M, G, T māmaṇyā; S māmaṃ ā-; Bu yatamāsata.
78 A omits; D, from its B-source, dhūma-gandhiḥ.
79 So M, G, T; Bu kokāḥ; A kukṣāḥ; cf. possibly Āpast. kukva, where, however, the reading is also in doubt.
80 So B, D, Sk; Ed., P 1 kaurkākṣayo; P 2 kaurkakṣiyo; S kāpyāyanā.
81 So B, D 2; Ed., P naitutayo; D 1 naisutiḥ; Sk jaitundapā; S mṛtāntayo.
82 Ed. dābhayaḥ; D 1 dābhiḥ; S dhārtayo; rest, dārbhayaḥ.
84 So Be, U, P, D 1; M, G, T -kāyāḥ; Bu -kroḍhāḥ; S -krādhāḥ; Sk -krāpāḥ; D 2 -kramyaḥ; Ed. matsakāyāḥ.
85 So T (Caland compares Āpast. kukva); M, G kekau-; Bu kākṣyā-; S kaukāyaṇāḥ; A kāruṇāyanāḥ (confused with the following name).
86 P 2 kārūthayaḥ.
87 So Be, U, G, S; D -ru-; rest, -ri-.
88 So Be, U, P 2; G, T, Bu kābalyā; M kābālyā; P 1, Ed., D 1, Sk kāvalyā; D 2 kāvalā; S kālmā.

The nine names in this family occur in Be, U (which, however, Caland does not quote in full), Ed., Sk, R, D. The last, however, attributes them to the Matsya. B gives only the unbracketed portion, while P 1, P 2 omit the family entirely. S quotes five of the names. The list is probably, as Caland suggests, taken from one of the other Sūtras, though his suggestion that it was Kātyāyana (i.e. our W) has no especial claim to acceptance. See the others among the Kevala Angirases.

3 So Sk; D, R śavalāḥ; Ed. śipilāḥ; S śiphilāś.
4 So Ed.; R, Sk, D 2 śiphi-; S śaiphi-; D 1 śipilaḥ śipilasviḥ. This seems to be simply dittography of no. 3.
5 So Sk; R -śvibhiṇḍ-; D 2 -ścibhiṇḍ-; D 1 tribhiṇḍiḥ; Ed. vaipiṇḍiḥ; S vaiphiḍāḥ.
6 Cf. gaṇa *kārtakaujapādi*; D kauthamaḥ; R, Sk kauśumaḥ; Ed. kautumo; S kaudhumo.
7 So Ed., cf. W; D, R, Sk -jihvāḥ.
8 So R, Sk, D; Ed. kaṇvī ca.
9 Cf. W; Ed. sūtiś ca; D, R, Sk sutāḥ.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Gargāḥ | 9. Sauyāmunir | 17. †sāṃgrahavān |
| 2. Sāmbharāyanāḥ | 10. Bhrājinākṣayo | 18. †tulyo |
| 3. Sakhīnayo | 11. Hotrāpacayaḥ | 19. Veṇubhariḥ |
| 4. Gāndharāyaṇā | 12. Satyāpacayaḥ | 20. srohatāḥ |
| 5. Bāhulakayo | 13. Kāṇāyanā | 21. Kārirautiḥ |
| 6. Bhrāṣṭrakṛd | 14. Aupamarkaṭāyanā | 22. Kaivalyā |
| 7. Bhrāṣṭrabindavaḥ | 15. †jāṇavat | 23. Rājayaḥ |
| 8. Krauṣṭukayaḥ | 16. †palāśaśākhavantayo | 24. Paulaya iti |

These are Gargas. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya,[1] Gārgya', etc.; or a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Sainya, Gārgya', etc.

There is no intermarriage of any of the Bharadvājas.

### B. *Āpastamba*

The Bharadvājas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja', etc. This is unaltered in the case of

1. Kukva- 2. Āgniveśya- 3. Ūrjāyanānām

and all those whose names end in *-stambha* and *-stamba*.[2]

1 R gārgaḥ.
3 So P1, R, D1, Be, U, G; Sk -tayo; D2 sakhīnaḥ; P2 sakhī/namāyo; Ed. sakhīnā (cf. next); M, T sāṃkhinayo; Bu sāṃkhanāḥ yo-; S sāṃkhyāyanā; Be, U add 'tha sāṃkhyāyanā.
4 So D; B, P gandh-; Ed. yaugandh-; Sk mādharāyaṇāḥ; R bharagāndharāyaṇā.
5 So M, G, Be, U, P1 (vā-), Ed., D; P2 -kayā; T bahu-; Bu bāhulakā; Sk bāhulayo; S vādhūlakayo.
6 So R, Sk, cf. K. & L., W, Matsya; B, P, D bhraṣṭakā (for which cf. Mān. and gaṇa *upakādi*); Ed. bhrastayo; Be, U bhrāṣṭrakā.
7 So G(?), R, Sk, D2; cf. the other lists; M, T bhrāṣṭa-; Bu bhṛṣṭa-; S, P2 bhraṣṭa-; Ed. bhṛṣṭubhindayaḥ; D1 bhrāṣṭuviduḥ; P1 bhraṣṭhavidavaḥ.
8 So S, Caland (and cf. Nirukta 8. 2); Be, U krauṣṭa-; Ed., P2, D, R kroṣṭa-; Sk kroṣṭra-; M kauṣṭa-; G, T kauṣṭu-; Bu kauṣṭakāḥ; P1 kroṣṭakaṣaḥ.
9 R, Sk -nāḥ; G, T saudhā-; Bu saujā-.
10 So R, Sk; P1 bhāgīnā-; P2 bhārgītā-; Ed. bhājitā-; D1 bhrājitākṣiḥ; D2 bhrājināṃkṣi; Bu bhrājināḥ kṣadhāḥ; Be, U bhāgīnākṣyo; M, G bhrājanākṣatreyā; T bhrājinākṣatreyā.
11 So B, P, D2; Ed. hotra-; Sk, R -pavayaḥ; S hautra; D1 hātrāyaviḥ.
12 So B, S, D2; Ed. satya-; R -pavayaḥ; Sk -pavayāḥ; P1 satyāpaca ity; P2 satyāparaya iti; D1 sātyāyaniḥ; P, R and Sk omit from here to the end of the K. & L. account of the subfamily (to the words ity ete gargās).
13 So B; A, S omit; cf. the other lists.
14 Restored, cf. the other lists; T aupamatka-; M, G aupatka-; Bu aupaütkaṭāḥ dhanāḥ; A, S omit.
15 So M, G, T; Bu śonava-; Be, U janavānava-; Ed., D1 jāyāvatā; D2 jāpīnataḥ; S dīnavalayaḥ.
16 So B; S -vantaḥ; Be, U -śākhāpacayaḥ; Ed., D vāṭāḥ śākhāyanayaḥ.
17, 18 So Ed., D1; D2 saṃ-; S -vat tulyo; T, G, Caland saṃgṛhatulyā; Be, U saṃgrahatulyo; M saṃgravatulyā; Bu saṃbhavatulyā.
19 So S, Be, U; Ed. veṇuhānis; M, G vaiḷuhāni-; T vaiḷuhakāni-; Bu vaiduhāḥ ri-; D vailahāniḥ.
20 So M, G, Bu; Ed. sohartā; D1 srāhataḥ; D2 srohavaḥ; Be, U sraugraha; S srauhadhāḥ.
21 So B; S -rotīḥ; D -rātriḥ; Ed. kārī pauci.
22 So B; S, D1 kaivālyā; D2 kaiśalyaḥ; Be, U kraucālyo; Ed. -ko bābhyā.
23 So B, D; Ed. rājavataḥ; S rājava-; Be, U rāṃkuvat (or śaṃkuvat).

1 So Garbe, ChRao; Ed. kukra; P2 kutsa; P1 kusa; Rm, Hiraṇyakeśi tuthyā-.
3 P udgāyanānām; Rm, Hir aurjayānānām.

[1] A regularly *sainya*, *siṃivat*. (Ed. has either form indiscriminately.)

[2] So Ed., Rm, Hir.; Garbe *stamba-stamba-śabdānām*; P1 *staṃva-staṃva-*; P2 *stambha-stamba-*.





Of the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*-families, such as the Śunga-Śaiśiris—the Śungas being Bharadvājas and the Śaiśiris being Katas—there is a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ātkīla', etc.[1]

The Ṛkṣas have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vāndana, Mātavacasa', etc.

The Kapis have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmahīyava, Aurukṣaya', etc.[2]

The Gargas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Gārgya, Śainya', etc. But some give Bharadvāja in place of Āngirasa, 'Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya', etc.[3]

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| | atha | atha |
| 1. Ātreyāyaṇi- | 1. Ātreyāyaṇi- | 1. Ātreyāyaṇi- |
| 2. Mārkaṇḍi- | 2. mābhūkarṇi- | 2. mādhūkarṇi- |
| 3. Vāliśāyani- | Vārkali- | vālkali- |
| 4. Saupiṣṭa- | 4. Saupiṣṭya- | 4. Saupiṣṭya- |
| 5. Saugeya- | | |
| 6. Āgniveśyānāṃ | 6. Āgniveśyānāṃ | 6. Āgniveśyānāṃ |
| 7. Śālāthala- | 7. Śālāthala- | 7. Śālāthala- |
| 8. Vārāhi- | 8. Vārāha- | 8. Vārāha- |
| 9. Śaungi- | 9. Śaungya[ḥ]- | 9. Śaunga- |
| 10. Tṛṇakarṇa- | 10. †kroṇakavarṇa- | 10. †kṛpanaparṇa- |
| 11. Prāvāhaṇeyānām | 11. Prāvāhaṇeyānām | 11. Prāvāhaṇeyānāṃ |
| 12. Āśvalāyani- | 12. †āśvina- | 12. †māślāya- |
| 13. †vāvāśraugiradhi- | 13. vādyutichanti-† | 13. vyāyogichaṃdāta-† |

1 P1, Ed. with dental -n; P2 ātreyāya only.
2 So Ed., D; P1 mārkeḍi; P2 mārkaḍi; but cf. Baudh. no. 3.
3 So D2, P1; cf. Matsya; D1 -yiniḥ; P2, S vāsināyani; Ed. vāsinayani.
4 Cf. the other lists; D sauviṣṭaḥ; P1 saupiṣṭha; Ed., P2 caupiṣṭa.
6 So P1; Ed., P2 yājñaveśyānāṃ; D omits.
7 Cf. W and gaṇa *śubhrādi*; Ed., D, P1 sārāvari; P2 sāravāsi sārāvati.
8 Cf. Mān., Matsya; Ed., P, D vāhi.
9 Restored; S śaugi; others with dental s-: Ed., D2 saungi; D1 sāngi; P saugi.
10 ? cf. Matsya; D1 tūrṇa-; P1, D2 tūṇa-; P2 tūṇīnūpākaṇi; S tuṣakarṇa; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 26 (stanakarṇa).
11 So Ed., P1; S pravāhareyānām.
12 ? So all.
13 So Ed.; P1 vā augi adhi; P2 vācāśvaugi adhi; D2 vātaṃgiradhi; D1 vātāngirathiḥ; S vāśraumi...radhi.

*W*

1 athātreyāṇi.
8 vārha.
11 prāvāhaṇayānaṃ.

*Mān.*

1 athayātreyapāṇi.
7 śālāla.
9 śaugaṃ.

[1] Rm adds: 'some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Āngirasa, Kātya, Ātkīla' (ed. of Rm, *Akṣila*).

[2] The Kapis probably really belong to the Kevala-Angirases (cf. the other Sūtras there). They are one of the few families whose pravara itself is doubtful. Garbe here has *āmahīya*, his other manuscripts giving *āmahāya*, *āmahaya*; Ed., P *āmahayyaurukṣayya*; see the other Sūtras.

[3] P omits the alternative.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 14. Khārigrīvīṇām | 14. Khārigrīvīṇām | 14. ⟨Khāri⟩grīvīṇām |
| 15. Aiṣumati- | 15. Aiṣumati- | 15. Aiṣumati- |
| 16. †sājyaṃki- | 16. †sākṛ- | 16. †śadya- |
| 17. †kāñcakikāyanānāṃ | 17. kājaṃkikājayanānī† | 17. kāvakikāvikāyanānāṃ† |
| 18. Naitundi- | 18. Naitundi- | 18. Naitundi- |
| 19. Dhauvakīnāṃ | †bhairi- | †lira- |
| 20. Somastambi- | vaikuntakātā (-kānāṃ?) | vaiṃdhaṃkīnāṃ |
| 21. Taulvali- | bhauvovakeyā- | caidhakīkayā- |
| 22. †vaiṣugodveṣīṇāṃ | varātaki- | carātaki- |
| 23. sāluhi- | mālahāyanānāṃ† | manahālānāṃ† |
| 24. vāluhi- | 20. . . . | 20. Somastambi- |
| 25. saubuddhika- | 21. Taulvali- | 21. Taulvali- |
| 26. Bhāradvāja- | 22. †pauṣpadvījīnā | 22. †pauṣuyāvaddiśīnāṃ |
| 27. Audameghi- | 23. sālauhi- | 23. śāla- |
| 28. Devamati- | 24. vālauhi-† | 24. vāḷauha-† |
| 29. Devāgāri- | 25. Saupathīnāṃ | 25. . . . |
| 30. Devasthāni- | 28. Devāmata- | 28. Devamata- |
| 31. Harikarṇi- | 31. Harikarṇa- | 31. Hārikarṇa- |
| 32. Dhrāngavi- | 32. Drāṃgava- | 32. Drāṃgava- |
| 33. †dhraugeya- | 33. †aupeya- | 33. †cauceya- |

14 Restored, cf. Baudh. no. 18; Ed. kāragrīvāṇāṃ; P 1 kāravīgrivīṇāṃ; P 2 kāragrīviṇāṃ; S kārigrīvāṇāṃ; D 1 kāragrīviḥ; D 2 kārāgrīvi.
15 Conj.; Ed. maithumati; P maithunamati; D maitunamati.
16 So Ed.; P 1, D 2 svajaṃki; D 1 svajjankiḥ; S sājammi; P 2 sāṣṭaṃki; P 2 also adds sājyaṃki after no. 17.
17 So Ed.; P 2 kaṃbikikā-; P 1 kākikā-; D 1 kācakiḥ kāyanaḥ; D 2 kāyanaḥ only; S kārdarūkakāya.
18 Cf. Baudh. no. 81, and W; P 1, D 1 traituṇḍiḥ; D 2 straituṇḍi; P 2, Ed. traituṭi; S tuṭi.
19 Conj., cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi* (uṇādi 2. 32); Ed. ṣauritaucakīnāṃ; P 1 dhauritauvakināṃ; P 2 dhauridhauṃtācakīnāṃ; D 1 dhautāmbakiḥ; D 2 ghautāṃvyaki; S yotritaucakrānāṃ.
20 So P 1 (-vi); Ed., P 2 sāma-; D 1 sāmastaviḥ; D 2 māyaṃstaṃvo; starting from the last syllable of this name, P 1 repeats from here to the end of Āśvalāyana's account of the Kevala-Angirases; readings in the repeat are noted as P 1*a*, where they differ from P 1.
21 So Ed., P 2; P 1 taudhvāsti; D 2 staudhmātir.
22 So p?; P 1 -gā-; P 1*a* -gādiṣeṇāṃ; P 2 vailugā-; Ed. vaiyugo-; S vayugādveṣāṇāṃ; D 1 vaiṣuḥ godveṣī; D 2 veṣur gaudveṣi; the other lists would indicate pauṣu-.
23 So P 1; D 2 salūhi; D 1 sālahi; Ed., P 2 sāluti.
24 So P 1, D; Ed. vāluṭi; P 2 vālu only.
25 So Ed., P 1, D 1; P 2 -vudvi-; D 2 -vudri-; S saubudhisātarad; Ed., P end in -ā—read -ānāṃ?
26, 27 The two names probably denote one family, i.e. the Audameghis who are Bharadvājas, as opposed to those who are Kaśyapas; and cf. the mention of Bharadvājaudameghīnāṃ in the final chapter, as dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas, below, p. 213; P audamedhi- (P 1*a* -īdameyi).
28 Conj., cf. Mān., W, Baudh.; P 1 paṭesamati; D 2 paṭeṣamati; D 1 paresamati; P 2 mapadesvamati; Ed. paroṣamiti; S paṭeṣumati.
29 So P 1, D 1; P 2 devāgāridhi; D 2 daivāgāvir; Ed. devāgiridhir; S devavanti.
30 So Ed., P 1, P 2, S, D 1; P 1*a* devasyāni; D 2 davasyāni.
31 So Ed., P 1, D; P 2 hariṇakarṇi; S haritakarṇi.
32 So P 2, D 2; P 1, D 1 dhrāgavi; P 1*a* drāṃgavi; Ed. dhrāngaṃvi; S dhvāngavi.
33 Ed., P 1, D 1 dhraugaya; D 2 dhrogaya; P 2 dhauśaya; S dhaugeya.

*W*

14 svāragrīvānīm.
15 aśumati (Weber wrongly conj. paśupati).
18 naituṇḍi.
32 drāngavadha.

*Mān.*

14 grīvīṇāṃ only.
15 aiṣumadṛ.
18 naivandi.
20 saubastaṃvi.
21 tolvali.
rājastatī.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 34. Kaumudagandhi- | 34. Kaumudagandhi- | 34. Kaumudagandhi- |
| 35. Sātyamugri- | Khāriṇādi- | Khāriṇādi- |
| 36. Mātsyakrātha- | Rājastambi- | Rājastambi- |
| 37. Mālohara- | Sāmastambi- | Sāmastambi- |
| 38. Hālohara- | saupastambi- | somastambi- |
| 39. Gāngodaki- | Brahmastambi- | . . . |
| 40. Kaurukṣetri- | 35. Sātyamugri- | . . . (see below) |
| 41. Drauṇi- | 27. Audameghīnāṃ | 27. Audameghi- |
| 42. Jaitri- | †gadaka- | †gāṃḍaki- |
| 43. Jaitvalāyanānāṃ | lauhītaku- | lauhitaki- |
| 44. †kāṇyaṃvijalir | hārīta- | . . . |
| 45. Āpastambi- | kāṇḍakuṣkunī- | kāṇḍaka- |
| 46. saujapṛśni- | . . . | dhānā- |
| 47. Pauli- | kulaka-† | kulaka-† |
| 48. †khānkhalāyanā iti | . . . (see above) | 35. Sātyamugri |
| | śaipatha- | śaivavyatha |
| | Bhāradvājā iti | Bhāradvāja iti |

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kālāyanāḥ | 1. Kāṇāyanāḥ | 1. Kāṇayanāḥ |
| 2. Kaivalayo | 2. Kaivalayo | 2. Kaivalayo |
| 3. atho Vatsatarāyanā | 3. atho Vatsatarāyaṇāḥ | 3. atho Vatsatarāyaṇāḥ |
| . . . | koḍāyanā | krauṇḍayanā |
| | Vārdhanayo | Vārddhanayo |
| | ⟨a⟩tho Vāṃśāyanāś ca ye | ⟨a⟩tho Vāṃśāyanāś ca ye |

35 P 1*a* sāhya-; D 2 sīyanuyor.
36 Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 84; S -kvātha; Ed., D 1 -kṣīṣa; P 1 -ṣikā; P 1*a* -kṣīka; P 2 matsyakṣīka; D 2 mātsyagarakṣīṣo.
37 P 1*a* mālo only; S salāhara.
38 So D 1, P 1; Ed. hālohāra; D 2 hālokalāro; P 2 halopāra; S lohāra only.
39 So P 1*a*, P 2, D; P 1 gang-; Ed. gāngovadaki.
40 So Ed., P 1, D 1; P 2, D 2 kaura-; P 1*a* kairu-.
41 So D 1; Ed., P 1 droṇi-; P 2 drau only; D 2 doṣir; P 1*a* jotri.
42 So Ed., P 1*a*, P 2, D; P 1 jayatri.
43 So Ed., D 1; P 2 jaihya-; D 2 jetva-; P 1 jejva-.
44 So Ed., P 1*a*; P 1 kāṇyāvi-; D 2 kāmyaṃ-; P 2 -vejalir; S kārṣṇipiṃjali.
45 P 1*a* eyaṃstaṃvi.
46 So Ed., P 1, P 2, D 1; P 1*a* -pṛṣṇi; D 2 saunapaśniḥ; S mauśapṛśni.
47 S bauli.
48 So P, D; Ed. khankha-; D 2 khākha-.

2 For this (restored from Mān., W and cf. Baudh. no. 22) and the word *atho* of the next, Ed. keśamartho; P 1 keśamatho; P 2 keśamathā; P 1*a* keṣamatatho; D 1 keśarmi; D 2 keśabhami.
3 So D 1, read vātsa-?; Ed. vacya-; P 2 vācya-; P 1 vasarāyaṇā; D 2 vatsyāyanaḥ. For the lacuna, cf. Mān., W.

*W*

34 gomṛgagandhi.
vāriṇādi (corr. from vārikeyācayādi).
35 rātyamugri.
27 yaudameghīno.

1 kānāyanāḥ (dental).
2 kaivalayā.
3 ayo vatsaturāyaṇāḥ.

*Mān.*

27 audameghī.
35 sātyamugru.

2 kāvalayo 'tha.
tho vaṃśāyanāśva ye

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 4. Bhrāṣṭrakṛd | 4. Bhrāṣṭrakṛd | 4. Bhrāṣṭrakṛd |
| 5. Bhrāṣṭrabindavo | 5. Bhrāṣṭrabinduś ca | 5. Bhrāṣṭrabinduś ca |
| 6. Aindrāli- | 6. Aindrāli- | 6. Aindrāli- |
| 7. Sāyakāyanāḥ | 7. Sāyakāyanāḥ | 7. Sāyakāyanaḥ |
| 8. †kaulāstra- | 8. †kroṭhī ca | 8. †kolī ca |
| 9. kriyāśvā- | 9. kriḍī ca | 9. krīkā |
| 10. krīva-† | 10. kāśī ca | 10. nisāṃ tva |
| 11. Kālakṛn- | 11. bhālakṛn | 11. . . . kṛt- |
| 12. Mātula- | 12. māśuravāratāḥ | 12. snāpurāvaṭa- |
| 13. Yāvakṛd- | 13. kaholakīr† | 13. lāvaki |
| 14. Bhāllavir | 14. . . . | 14. bhālūvir† |
| 15. Aupamarkaṭaḥ | 15. Upamarkaṭi- | 15. Upamarkaṭi- |
| 16. Protsangiḥ | 16. pretsagi- | 16. Protsangiḥ |
| 17. Paingalāyanāḥ | 19. Śyāmāyana- | 19. Śyāmāyanā |
| 18. Śyāmāḥ | 17. †paisukāyana- | 17. †yailukāyana |
| 19. Śyāmāyanā | 21. śāṃbharabhāramata- | 21. sāṃbharabhāmat† . . . |
| 20. Gārgyāḥ | 20. Gārgya- | (lacuna) |
| 21. †sāmparivārā iti | vālāki‿iti | |

. . . śenya gārgyeti hotā, etc.

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya, Gargya', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Tittiriḥ | 1. taitiriḥ | 1. tetirari- |
| 2. Kapibhūmiḥ | 2. kavibhūmo | 2. kavir bhūmo |

4 So Ed.; P1 bhrāṣṭakṛd (P1*a* omits); P2 bhrāṣukvaṭṭa.
5 Restored; Ed. bhrāṣṭramiti; P1 bhrāṣṭavidi; P1*a* bhraṣṭrāvindi; P2 bhraṣṭubhiti.
6 P1*a* yanāli.
7 All, śālankāyanaḥ; cf. Matsya, Mān. and gaṇa *naḍādi* (also in Śatapatha-Br.).
8 D1 kaulāstrayaḥ.
9 P1*a* -svā.
10 So D, P2; Ed., P1 kriva.
12 D mātuleyaḥ.
13 D1 -kriḥ; D2 -ktir.
14 So D1; D2 māllavir; P1 bhalavir; P1*a* bhālevi; P2 mātulapir; Ed. mālapar-.
15 So P1, P2; D -ṭiḥ; P1*a* laupamarkaga; Ed. aupakarmayaḥ; S auparka.
16 ? So Mān.; P1, D preṣyanga; Ed., P2 prasyaṃgāḥ; P1*a* preṣyanta; S naiṣaṣṭhyagāḥ.
17 So D2; Ed., D1 paiga-; P2 painja-; P1 gapalāyana; P1*a* paigalāyena.
18 In Ed., P2 only.
19 Ed. śām-; S syām-.
20 So P2, P1*a*, D, S; P1 gargyaḥ; Ed. gargās.
21 So Ed., P; P1*a*, D1 sāpari-; D2 saṃ-; perhaps taken as 'Gārgyas and their followers', but probably corrupt, cf. the other lists.

P2 omits this family, ascribing its three-*ṛṣi* pravara to the preceding.
1 P1 titiriḥ.
2 So Ed., P1; Sk kavibhūmayaḥ; R kapitumayaḥ; D gives two names, kapiḥ bhūmiḥ.

*W*

4 bhrāṣṭrakṛ.
5 bhrāṣṭravratī ca.
6‿indrāvi.
7 śrāyanāḥ (dental).
12 (corr. from māśurābhāratāḥ).
15 ūpamatkaṭī.
19 śayāyana.

*Mān.*

4 bhrāṣṭukā.
5 kapravṛdī ca‿
6‿indrādhiḥ.
15 ūpamarkaṭi.
19 śyāmāyane.

3 garga iti.





| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 3. †khanditaḥ | 3. Gargā iti | 3. Gargā iti |
| 4. †khaṇḍito | | |
| 5. Gargā iti | (Pravara as in K. & L.) | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Śainya, Gārgya', etc.

## D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Bharadvāja-Agniveśyas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja'.
⟨Of the Gargas, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya', or else 'Āngirasa, Śainya, Gārgya'.⟩[1]

## E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ātreyāyaṇi- | 10. Tṛṇakarṇiś ca | 17? kaucakir |
| 4. Saupiṣṭāv | 11. Pravāhiś ca | dhūmitaś caiva |
| 6. Agniveśaḥ | 12. Āśvalāyaniḥ | 22? puṣpānveṣis tathaiva ca |
| 7. Śalāthalaḥ | 13. †bāhyagachir | 20. Somastambir |
| 3. Vāliśāyaniś | 13*a*. daśādikiḥ† | Brahmastambir |
| 5? †cikipir | 14. Khārigrīvis tathaiva ca | 23. sālaḍir |
| 8. Vārāhir | kārakiś ca | bālaḍis tathā |
| Vārkalis tathā | mahākapis | 29. Devāgāri |
| 9. Śaungiś ca | tathā ca‿uḍupatiḥ prabhuḥ | 30. Devasthānir |

3, 4 These are missing in the other lists; P1 svaṃditi khaḍiṇto (P1*a* svaṃditi paṃḍito); D1 svanditiḥ khaṇḍitaḥ; D2 svaditi khāndita S svaṃgiro bādināṃ; Ed. khandino only; R, Sk khaṇḍitā only. Probably merely a scribe's note indicating that his exemplar was broken. D calls this family Garga-bhedas.

1 So M2; the others with dental -ni (P1 -yatiś ca).
4 P, Kṛṣ sauvi-; Ed. sāviṣṭyau; P1 -ṣṭo; P2 -ṣṭāv; M sauveṣṭyāv.
6 So Ed., P1; P2, M -śya.
7 Cf. W, and gaṇa *śubhrādi*; P śilā-; D1 śilātaliḥ; D2 śilāyali; Ed., M śilāsthaliḥ.
3 So Ed., P; Kṛṣ vāla-; M bā-.
Cikipi—so Ed.; M caikepī; D2, P1 cikirṣir; D1 cikīrṣiḥ; P2 civipir (after no. 8); Kṛṣ śvikipi.
vārkalis, cf. Mān., gaṇa *bāhvādi*; Ed., M, D bāṣkalis; P2 vāsk-; P1 vāṣkatis; Kṛṣ nākali.
9 Restored; Ed., M, P2 sautiś ca; D sauḍhiḥ; P1 sauṭhiṃś ca; Kṛṣ sautiṭa; S sauhiś ca.
10 So P2, M2, S, Kṛṣ; P1 -kaṇiś; M1 triṇa-; Ed. nṛṇavarṇiś ca.
11 So Ed., P, D, Kṛṣ; M prāvahiś ca; S prabhāhiś ca.
12 So M; Ed., P1, D (ca) labhāyani; P2 labhāyiniḥ; Kṛṣ lārāyini (dental); S labhāryaniḥ (dental).
13, 13*a* So P2; Ed. -cchaś ca diṣṭākiḥ; P1 vāchaṃgachir daśādīkiṃ; D1 vāhyagacchiḥ daśādikiḥ; D2 bāhyagachir daśāhiki; Kṛṣ vāhyagaccha vasiṣṭha; M quite otherwise—vārāhir barhisādī ca.
14 Restored; Ed., P2 svāra-; D sāragrīvir (D1 -vī); P1 svāragriviṃs; M śikhāgrīvis; Kṛṣ dvisvabhāva grāvi.
Kārakiś ca—all the names from here to no. 40 inclusive appear to have been missing in Puruṣottama's copy, and we are therefore dependant for them on M1, M2 only, whose readings are given in the text, except where noted.
20 M somatanvir brahmatanviḥ.
29 M devarārir.

[1] The Gargas occur in the middle of the Kevala Angirases in all the Āśvalāyana sources; the other Sūtras make it probable that they should be transferred to here.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. Hārikarṇiḥ | 37. Māloharaḥ | 43. Jaitvalāyanir eva ca |
| 32? saridbhuviḥ | 38. Hāloharas tathaiva ca | 45. Āpastambiḥ |
| 33? prāvepiḥ | 39. Gāngodakiḥ | 46. saujapṛśniḥ |
| 35. Sātyamugriś ca | kaurupatiḥ | 44? gośvapingalir eva ca |
| 34. tatha Kaumudagan-dhikaḥ | 40. Kaurukṣetris tathaiva ca †nāyakir | 47. Pauliś caiva mahātejāḥ |
| | | 48. †sālankāyanir eva ca |
| 36. Mātsyakrāthaḥ | 41, 42. jaityadrauṇiś ca | |

These are all held to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara,[1] first Angiras, second Bṛhaspati, third Bharadvāja. These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kāṇāyanāḥ | 7. Sāyakāyaniḥ | 13. Yāvakṛd |
| 2. Kaivalayas | 8. †krauḍiś | 14. Bhāllaviś ca |
| 3. tathā Vātsatarāyaṇaḥ | 9. cākrī ca | 15. Aupamarkaṭaḥ |
| 4. Bhrāṣṭrakṛd | 10. vāśṇiś ca† | 17. Paingalāyanaḥ |
| 5. Bhrāṣṭrabinduś ca | 11. Kālakṛn | 16. Protsangiś ca |
| 6. Aindrāliḥ | 12. Mātulas tathā | 18. tathā Śyāmāḥ |

35 M sādyasugrīvis.
34 M gomedagandhikaḥ.
36 M matsyācchādyo.
37 M mūlaharaḥ.
38 M phalāhāras.
39 M gāngodadhiḥ.
†nāyakir—so M; Ed., P2 vyaṭāki; (P2, however, gives it immediately before no. 43); Kṛṣ, S vaṭāki; P1 vyāḍākir; D1 vyāḍhākiḥ; D2 pāṭāki.
41, 42 So M; Ed. jityadroṇiś ca; P1 jityaśroṇiś ca; Kṛṣ jihreṇi.
43 So P1; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ jaikṣalāyani; M jaihva-; S jaiji-.
45 P1 āstamvi.
46 ? P1, D bhājapṛśni; P2 vājavṛṣṭi; Ed. mārjavṛṣṭi; M mauñjavṛṣṭi; Kṛṣ mārjavṛści (corrected from -vṛṣṭi); S māhavṛści.
44 So P1, Kṛṣ (as two names), Ed. -sva-; P2 gogosva-; D1 -pigaliḥ; D2 gosva (corrected from -śva-) piñjali.
47 All, paila; Kṛṣ paila teja mahāteja—all as proper names.
48 So Ed., P, M, Kṛṣ; D2 -naḥ; D1 śākalāyanaḥ; D1 adds sauvaśva, D2 svauvasva.

P1 omits this family. D, R, Sk all give a heterogeneous list, containing most of the Matsya names but many others besides; D attributes the whole list to the Matsya, but wrongly, since many of its forms clearly belong to the K. & L. list.
1 Restored; Ed., M kāṇvāyanāḥ; P2 kāēvāḥ yanāḥ; Kṛṣ -kaṇvā.
2 Restored; Ed. kaujavathaḥ; M kopacayas; P2 kojatayas; Kṛṣ kaujavaya; S kaujivayā.
3 So D; Ed., P2, M vātsya-; Kṛṣ vāśyāṃtarāyaṇa.
4 So M, D1; Ed., P2 bhrā-; Kṛṣ bhraṣṭakṛ; D2 bhrāṣṭakṛd.
5 Restored; Ed. bhraṣṭraviṣṇī ca; P2 bhraviṣṇī ca; M rāṣṭrapiṇḍī ca; D2 rāṣṭravinduḥ; D1 viduḥ only; Kṛṣ bhraṣṭavāṇi; S bhraṣṭaviṣmā.
6 Restored; Ed., P2 laityāliḥ; Kṛṣ laihyāli; D naidrākṣiḥ; M laindrāṇiḥ.
7 So M; Ed., P2 śākalāyaniḥ; Kṛṣ śākaṭāyani.
8 So Ed., P2; Kṛṣ kroḍi; S kraunḍiś.
9 So Ed., S; P2 cāṣmī ca; Kṛṣ kakrī.
10 So Ed.; P2 vāṣmī ca; S vārṣmiś ca; Kṛṣ vāṣmī; in place of nos. 8–10, M has kroṣṭākṣī bahuvītī ca.
11 Restored; D kālavit; Ed. lātakṛn; M tālakṛn; P2 tātakṛn; Kṛṣ lātakṛ.
12 Conj.; Ed., P2, M madhurāvahaḥ; Kṛṣ mathurāvaha.
13 Restored; Ed. lāyakṛd; P2 lopakṛd; Kṛṣ lāpakṛ; M lāvakṛd.
14 Conj.; P2, Ed. bhālavi-; M gālavid; Kṛṣ bhālaviha.
15 Conj. (but overrunning the caesura); Ed. -droṣau markaṭaḥ; P2 -drāṣo markaṭaḥ; M gāthī mārkaṭiḥ; Kṛṣ rāṣa sakaṭa.
17 Cf. K. & L.; Ed., Kṛṣ pailikāyana; P2 paulikā-; M paulikāyaniḥ.
16 Cf. K. & L.; Ed., Kṛṣ mṛtsanga; P2 matsyaṃga; M skandasaś ca.
18 Conj., cf. K. & L.; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ (tathā) dāmī; M tathā cakrī.

[1] Ed. *tryārṣeyaḥ pravaraś caiva sarveṣā(ṃ) pravaro mataḥ*—read *parikīrtitaḥ*? M corrupt; *dvyākhyeyo mārutaś caiṣāṃ sārveṣāṃ* (M1 *tryārṣeyaḥ*) *pravaro nṛpa*.





| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20. Gārgyaḥ | Bālākiḥ | Sāṃbharaś caiva |
| 19. Śyāmāyanis tathā | | |

These are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras of great brilliance, Bṛhaspati the divine teacher, Bharadvāja, Garga, and the blessed *ṛṣi* Śainya. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ⟨1. Tittiriḥ[1] | 2. Kapibhūmaś ca | 3. Gārgyaś caiva mahān ṛṣiḥ |

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras and †Tittiri and Kapibhūma† the great *ṛṣi*.[2] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.⟩

## 3. Kevala Angirases[3]

### A. *Baudhāyana*[4]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Haritāḥ | 4. Dārbhyā | 7. manāyur |
| 2. Kautsāḥ | 5. Śaibhango | 8. Lāmbodaro |
| 3. Śānkhyā | 6. Bhaimagavo | 9. Mahodaro |

20 So M; P2 gambhi; Ed. bhāgiś; Kṛṣ gāmbhīrya.
19 So all.
bālākiḥ, so M1, P2, Ed., Kṛṣ, cf. W; M2 bā-.
sāṃbharaś, conj., cf. W, Mān.; M sāhariś caiva; P2, Ed. sāhaniś caiva; Kṛṣ sāyani. In the pravara, M2 saitya.

1 So M, Ed., P2, Kṛṣ; P1 titiriḥ.
2 So M1; Ed., P, M2 kapibhūś caiva; Kṛṣ kapi only. In the pravara, M1 kavibhūma; Ed., P2, M2 kapibhūś ca; P1 kayibhūś ca; Kṛṣ here also simply kapi.
2 So Bu; S kātsās; T kotsā; M, G, kautsyāḥ; Be, U kutsabhaimyāḥ; Ed., P, D, R, Sk omit.
3 So P1, D1; B, Ed. sāṃkhyo; Sk śaṃkha; R śyaṃkha; D2 saṃkhyo; Be, U sākheyā; P2 sāṃkhyeyā.
4 So Be, U, S; M, G, T darbhyaḥ; Bu, D darbhaḥ; Sk, R darbhayaḥ; Ed. dabhyaḥ; P2 bhyādabhyā; P1 danyaḥ.
5 ? So M, G; T śaivabhango; Bu haiṃgavaḥ; Be, U saubhagā; Ed., P, D, R saubhāgā; Sk saubhāgyāḥ; S bhaiṃjo.
6 So A (but P1 loma ravā, Sk neyyagavāḥ), cf. Aśv.; B haimagava, for which cf. K. & L.
7 ? So Caland; Ed. mamanāyur; S gamamanāyur; M, G, T gavamanāyu; Be, U, R matāyu(-yavo); Sk matāyavāḥ; D1 matyāyuḥ; D2, P1 malāyuḥ; P2 matāyur balāyur.
8 ? P1 lāvodaro; G lābodaro; Ed. lāvādaro; T lambodaro; M laboṃdaro; Be, U bālodaro; Sk, D vālodarāḥ; R valo/darā; P2 baladiro; S lāvo only.
9 S māh-; P1 omits.

[1] This family really belongs here, cf. K. & L., Mān., W; but all the sources combine to give it among the Kevala Angirases in the Matsya account—viz. after the Kaṇvas. The corruption of the pravara naturally conceals the dislocation.

[2] We should probably read, e.g. 'angirāś ca tathā gargaḥ śainyaś caiva mahān ṛṣiḥ'—if so, the true reading has been ousted by dittography of the list above.

[3] Puruṣottama allots a separate chapter to the Kevala Angirases only in the case of the Baudh. and Āpast. accounts; for the others, he gives them continuously with the Bharadvājas. They have been separated here for convenience, but some doubt remains as to the correct position of two families: the Ṛkṣas are certainly Bharadvājas, as can be seen from their pravara; but they occur among the Kevalas, except in Baudh. and Āpast.; while the Kapis are almost certainly Kevalas, but they are usually treated by the medieval authors as Bharadvājas.

[4] The order of the gaṇas is different in the A and B traditions. The order of A is given here, as being Puruṣottama's (Be, U, however, give the Kapis both before the Haritas and again after the Saṃkṛtis, adding after the first occurrence, the prohibition of intermarriage among the *Bharadvājas*). In B, the succession is Viṣṇuvṛddhas, Kaṇvas, Haritas, Saṃkṛtis, Rathītaras, Mudgalas, Kapis. The Vaikhānasa Sūtra, as might be expected in a southern School, follows the order of B.

10. Naimiśrayo
11. Miśrodanāḥ
12. Kautapāḥ
13. Kārīṣayaḥ
14. Kaulayaḥ
15. Paulayaḥ
16. pauṇḍalo
17. Māndhūpo
18. Māndhātur
19. Mādrakāraya iti

These are Haritas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.

1. Kaṇvā
2. Aupamarkaṭāyanā
3. Bāṣkalāḥ
4. Śailāhalino
5. Mauñjir
6. Mauñjayo
7. Mauñjigandhā
8. Vājir
9. Vājayo
10. Vājaśravasā iti

These are Kaṇvas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kāṇva', etc.

1. Rathītarā
2. Hāstidāsiḥ
3. Kāhvāyanā
4! Naitirakṣayaḥ
5. Śailālayo
6. Bhaillir
7. †bhilībhāyanā

10 So Bu, R, Sk, D2; Ed. -śrayā; D1 -śrīḥ; P1 -śraö; P2, M, G, T -śreyo; S -śravo; Be, U vai-; cf. gaṇa *taulvalyādi*.
11 So P1, D; Ed., M, G, T -darāḥ; S -daraḥ; Sk dakāḥ; Bu triśonaḥ; Be, U vimiśraudanāḥ; R dakāḥ only; (hapl. with no. 10).
12 So A; D1 kāt-; D2 kaunaya; M kauṭhapāḥ; T krauṭapāḥ; G kūpodaraḥ; Bu kāddhapāḥ; S kaulapāḥ.
13 So G, P2, R, D1, Ed.; D2, P1, M, T kāri-; Bu, U karī-; Be kari-; Sk karīṣavaḥ.
14, 15 S kaulalaḥ paulalaḥ; D1 omits.
16 So M, G; Be, U, P, Ed. pauḍ-; D1, R poṭ-; D2 poṭaliḥ; Sk pauṭalayaḥ pauṭalāḥ; S pauṇḍaralo; Bu pauṇḍuraḥ; T paundeyo (cf. perhaps pauṭāyana, gaṇa *aśvādi*?); after this name, R, Sk, D2 add matsyāḥ, D1 mautsyaḥ.
17 So G, Be, U; M māṇḍhūpo; Bu maṇḍhūpaḥ; T māṇṭuko; S, P2 mādhūpo; D1 madhūpaḥ; Ed. mādhūyo; P1 mādhuyo; D2 madhūyo.
18 So B (Bu mă-); Ed. māndhātu; P1 mādhātu; P2 māndhātṛ; D -tā; R -tāro; Sk -tavo; the gen. probably marks a later interpolation, i.e. 'this pravara is also Māndhātṛ's'.
19 So G, T, cf. Mān.; M ma-; S -kārāḥ; Be, U māndakāra; Sk, P1, D2 māṇḍa-; D1 maṇḍa-; P2 māṇḍakāra.

2 So G, Sk, D2; D1 -niḥ; Be, U aupamārkāṇḍāyanā; P1 yaupamarkarāyannā; P2 saumarkaṭāyanā; Ed. aupamarkaṭyāyakāḥ; S markaṭhāyanāḥ; R aupakarmayayanā.
3 So P2, R, Sk; D1 bhāṣk-; D2 vāsk-; P1 vaṣk-; M vātka-; Bu vatka-; T yatka-; S vātkāro; Ed. kalāḥ only.
4 ? So M; T -harito; G -halayo; Bu halanāḥ only; Ed. paula-; R paulā-; P1 paulahālino; P2 paulahano; Sk paulahastino; Be, U pauladālino; D paulāhaliḥ; cf. perhaps śailālin, Pāṇ. 4. 3. 110?
5, 6 So M; G mauñjīr mauñjyayo; T maurjī maujayo; Bu mājayāḥ only; S mauñjir maujiyo; A as one name—Be, U, Ed., P2 māñjimājayo; P1 māñjimāñjayo; R maujimājayo; Sk mauñjibhājayaḥ; D2 mauñjiḥ only; D1 māñjiḥ only.
7 So Ed., R, Sk, G; Bu, M, P2 mauji-; P1 maudhi-; D1 -gavaḥ; D2 maujagachaḥ; Be, U, T māñji-.
8, 9 So M, G; Bu -iḥ-; rest as one name—T, S vājivājāyo; P1, R vijivājayā; P2 vijivājayă-; Ed. vijavājayā; Sk vijayājayāḥ; D vājayo only; Be, U vijayā only.
10 P, Ed. -sa iti; S vājiśravasaḥ; R vāśravaso; Sk -saḥ.

2 P, Ed., M, G, Be, U, R hasti-; T -dāśi; Bu hastidāḥ; Sk hastidāḥ si-; D1 hāstī dāsa-; D2 hastī dāsi-.
3 So Ed., R; P1 -yenā; Sk -hva-; P2 kālāna; Be, U kāmbhāyanā kāhvanā; S kāmadheyanāḥ; B, Caland kāṇvāyanā; D -kaḥ dyāyanaḥ; D2 -kaḥ hāyano.
4 So Be, U, Ed., P1, R, Sk; P2 neti-; D1 naitadākṣiḥ; D2 nairākṣi; M, T -ṛkṣayaḥ; G -ṛkṣāyā; Bu nairtikṣayaḥ.
5 So A, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 3. 110 (śailālin); M, G, T aiśaleyo; Bu vaiśāleyāḥ; S kaśālapo; Sk omits.
6 ? Conj.; Be, U bhaili-; R, Sk bhailayaḥ; D bhiliḥ; P1 bhile; P2 bhila; Ed. bhilai; M, G, T le- only; Bu lo- only; S lailai.
7 So Be, U, Ed., P1, R, D2; P2, Sk bhilo-; D1 bhilī-; M, G bhillivāyanāḥ; T bhirlivāhanā; Bu halvavāhanāḥ; S bhirlebhāyanāḥ; read perhaps bhaulikāyani, gaṇa *tikādi*, and cf. Pāṇ. 4. 2. 54?





8. Sāvahavā
9. Bhaikṣavāhā
10. Haimagava iti

These are Rathītaras. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rāthītara', etc.; or 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva', etc.

1. Viṣṇuvṛddhāḥ
2. Śaṭhamarṣaṇā
3. Bhadraṇā
4. Madraṇāḥ
5. Śāmburāyaṇā
6. Bādarāyaṇā
7. Vātsaprāyaṇāḥ
8. Sātyakiḥ
9. Sātyakāyanā
10. Naitundyā⟨ḥ⟩
11. Stutyā
12. Bhāruṇyā
13. Vaihoḍhā
14. Daivasthānaya iti

These are Viṣṇuvṛddhas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyava', etc.

1. Mudgalā
2. Hiraṇyākṣā
3. Ṛṣabhā
4. Mitākṣā
5. Ṛśyā
6. Ṛśyāyanā
7. Dīrghajanghāḥ
8. Pralambajanghās
9. Taruṇā
10. Bhindavā iti

These are Mudgalas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya', etc.

8 So A (but D1 sāhavaḥ, D2 tyāvahavo); M saṃvāhavāhā; G sāvāhavāhnā; T savāhavāhavāha; Bu svāhāvāhāḥ.
9 Be, U, P2 bhaikṣāvahā; Sk bhe-; D2 -nāha; P1 -kṣya-; Ed. bhairuvāhāḥ.
10 So B (but S bhairumagavāḥ); A he-; D2 mehagayo; P1 hemanāvāda.

2 So B, Ed.; D1 śaṭhaḥ marṣaṇaḥ; D2 śaṭo marṣaṇo; Sk śaṭhāḥ maraṇāḥ; R śarā maraṇā; Be, U, P śaṭā maraṇā.
3, 4 So Ed., Sk, Caland, cf. Āpast.; M, T, R -ri- in both, cf. K. & L., W, etc.; Bu -ri-, -rī-; P2 -rā- in both; G bhadriṇā mantriṇāḥ; P1 bhadraṇāṃ ma-; D2 bha- twice; D1 ma- only; R and Sk invert, and add bhadrayaḥ.
5 So M, G; T śyāmbu-; Bu, D2 śāmba-; S, D1 śāba-; Be, U śālūlāyanā vatsarāyaṇa (Caland's edition mistakenly attributes the last name to Sk also); Ed., P, R, Sk omit.
6 D1 omits; D2, P1 -vā-.
7 Be, U mātsya-; P2 mātsaprā-; P1 gātsa-; Ed. matsa-; D2 āyaṣaḥ; S before no. 6.
8 P1 ñā-; D2 saptakiḥ.
9 D2 să-; Ed. satyankā-.
10 P1 -tuṇḍā; Ed. naitudyā; D2 niturthaḥ; R nenundyāḥ; rest naitundyā—none with visgara.
11 So T, A; P2 stusā; G, Bu, S stundyā; M stuntyā.
12 So Bu, Be, U, R, Sk, D2; P2 bhārū-; Ed. bharaṇyā; P1 bhāhaṇya; D1 āruṇyaḥ; S vāruṇyā; M hāruṇyā; G hāruṇḍyā; T hā--nyā.
13 So T, D, R, Sk, P1; M, G -ḍā; Be, U -trī; P2 -hyā; S vai poḍā; Ed. vaimāḍā.
14 So M, G, cf. gaṇa *pailādi*; T -stā-; Bu taisthā-; S, Be, U, P1, R deva-; D1 daivasthānaḥ; D2 devasthālir; P2 devasthāta; Ed. devasthātaya; Sk devasthāyanaḥ.

The Mudgalas occur here in Be, U, R, Sk (although the two latter give no account for Baudh.). In Ed. they are given before the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, which is indeed in accord with the order given in Puruṣottama's introductory verse. P1 and P2 both omit the family. The readings of Ed. as against Be, U, make it most probable that it has here depended on S, of which there is no mention in Ed.'s footnotes (cf. especially no. 8); and we may safely conjecture that the copy of Puruṣottama's work which is the common ancestor of Ed., P, D, R, Sk, was defective here. D also seems to rely on its B-source here, attributing, however, four additional names to Baudh., at the beginning of the list, sūniḥ (D2 suni) chatrahayaḥ tāraṇaḥ (cf. no. 9) kāryabhāsitaḥ.
3 So B, Ed., D; Be rupākṣā; U rūpabhā.
4 So B, D; Ed. mitā only; Be, U minā only.
5 So B; D1 vṛptaḥ; D2 nṛtyaḥ; Be, U āyāsyā; Ed. gayo.
6 So B, D1; D2 nṛṣāgranaḥ; Be, U tūpāyaṇā; Ed. viśvāyanā.
8 So Be, U; B, Ed., D janghās only; D gives this before no. 7.
9 So Be, U; Ed. taraṇa-; M, G, T tāraṇā; Bu tāruṇā; D hīraṇyagarbhaḥ.
10 So M, G; Ed., T bindava; Be, U bhandakā; D2 bhidir; D1 omits.

1. Saṃkṛtayo
2. Lamakāḥ
3. Pautyas
4. Taṇḍiḥ
5. Śambuḥ
6. Śaivagavaḥ
7. Paribhavas
8. Tārakādyā
9. Hārigrīvā
10. Vaitaleyāḥ
11. Śrautāyanāś
12. Cārāyaṇā
13. Āgrāyaṇā
14. Ārṣabhayaś
15. Cāndrāyaṇā
16. Āghrāpayaḥ
17. Pūtimāṣā iti

These are Saṃkṛtis. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Sāṃkṛtya, Gaurivīta', etc.

1. Kapayo
2. Vaitalānām
3. Aitiśāyanānām
4. Patañjalānām
5. Tarasvinām
6. Tāṇḍinām
7. Bhojasinām
8. Śārṅgaravānām
9. †karaśikhaṇḍānām
10. Mauṣītakiś
11. Chāgalayaḥ
12. [Māṣaśarāvaḥ]
13. Pauṣpaya iti

These are Kapis. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Āmahīyava, Aurukṣaya',[1] etc.

D, R, Sk give the Saṃkṛtis with the two other 'dvigotra'-families (Laugākṣis and Śuṅga-Śaiśiris) separately, after the Agastis. Only D, however, gives the Baudhāyana list, although the other two have a few scattered names from it in their supplementary lists. These, of course, may not be derived directly from Baudh., and must be used with caution.
2 So S, Caland, cf. gaṇas *upakādi, tikakitavādi, naḍādi*; M, G -gāḥ; T -vāḥ; Bu lamamakāḥ; Be, U, Ed., P, D (R, Sk) malakaḥ.
3 ? So M, G, T; Bu pautyakaḥ; A paulas; (R vailā); S paustyas.
5 So A, cf. Āśv., W; S, B -bhuḥ (Bu -bhūḥ), for which cf. Mān.
6 So Be, U (*not* Pn), P2, D; P1, B, S śaibhavaḥ; Ed. śaimbhavayaḥ; cf. Āśv.
7 Be, U, B -vās; Ed. paribhāvās.
8 Be, U, Bu tārakā only.
9 So A (P2 hārī-, D1 hāra-); M, G, T, S hāridrā; Bu hārindraḥ; (Sk hārinivāḥ; R hvārigrīvāḥ).
10 ? So B, D (S caitatiyāś); Be, U śaiṣaṇaḥ; Ed. paiṇāyāḥ; P1 śeṣayāḥ (also added by D); P2 ṣeṇāyāḥ.
11 M, G, D śro-; P1 au-; Bu śrotā-.
12 So B, S; Ed., P, D omit.
13 So Be, U, P2, Ed.; S āntyāyanā; M, G, Bu āśrā-; P1 rāyagrāyaṇā.
14 So Bu, S, D; M, G, T, Caland ārṣayaś; Be, U, Ed., P omit; (R, Sk ārṣaṇyā); Caland's citation of *ārṣi* from Mān. is more than questionable.
15 So B, D, S (Sk); (R vā-); Be, U, Ed., P omit.
16 ? So Ed., P; D1 aghrāpir; G, Caland āpaghrā-; M āpaghrā-; T āpagra-; Bu avagra-; S avaghrā-; Be, U aghrā-; (Sk vyāghrapāḥ; R āghrāya iti).
17 So A; B -māṣyā; S -bhāṣyāḥ; D gives this before no. 2.

Be, U give the Kapis both here and at the end of the Bharadvājas, before the phrase 'bharadvājānāṃ sarveṣām avivāha iti'. D, R and Sk all give the Kapis before the rubric 'iti bharadvājāḥ'. Ed. prints for S an account both here and after theRaukṣāyaṇa-Bharadvājas. Readings in the second occurrence, where they differ, are given here in brackets. Bu, Be, U all give the names in the nom.pl. instead of the genitive. R and Sk commence with the K. & L. list.
2 S vaitālānāṃ (vaitālāyanām); P2 vaitalāyanām.
4 P2 -līnāṃ.
5 P1 -svīnāṃ.
7 D1 -sī; D2 -siḥ; P2 bhājināṃ; S bhojasināṃ.
8 ? So S, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 73; G, T śāṃkara-; M śāṃkaravāṇānāṃ; Bu śākaravāḥ; Be, U sāraṅgavāyanāḥ (kāsakharaṇā); Ed. kāsavarāṇāṃ; P1 kaśaravaṇāṃ; P2 kāsaravarṇanāṃ; D kāsakhaḥ.
9 So M, G, T; Bu kāśikhaṇḍāḥ; Ed., P karasi-; D2 karasī-; D1 karasikhaḍaḥ; Be, U sarasikhaṇḍanā, sarasikhaṇḍinā (rasikhaṇḍā); S kharaśastaṇḍānāṃ (tarasikhaṇḍīnāṃ). Read, however, kalaśīkaṇṭha; cf. gaṇa *upakādi* and the other lists.
10 So B, (S); (Be, U āmau-); Ed. āmaukhitaki; P1 āmauṣitaki; P2 āmausvitaṃki; D1 maiṣītakiḥ; D2 mauṣatakiḥ; S mauṣantakas.
11 ? So T, Caland; cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 117; M, Bu chāgasayaḥ; G chāgavīyo; Be, U sāgarasa (saṃśayaḥ); S saṃśayaḥ (sāṃśayaḥ); Ed. sāgasakha; P1 sāgasa-i; P2 sāgasara; D sāgaraḥ.
12 G only.
13 So B, D2, S; D1 pauṣṭiḥ; Ed. poṣpaya; P1 vauṣyaya; P2 pauṣpa; (S pauṣāḥ); Be, U pauṣaya (pauṣyā).

[1] This seems the most probable reading; B *āmahayyava-‿*; Ed., P *āmahayya-‿*; Caland suggests *āmahīya*.





### B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of the Haritas, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc. But some give Māndhātṛ in the place of Āṅgirasa, 'Māndhātra, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.

Of the Kutsas, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Māndhātra, Kautsa', etc.

Next the Ajamīḍha-Kaṇvas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kāṇva', etc.

Next the Virūpa-Rathītaras. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva', etc. But some say Aṣṭādaṃṣṭra in the place of Āṅgirasa, 'Āṣṭādaṃṣṭra, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva', etc.

Of the Mudgalas, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya', etc. But some have Tṛkṣa in the place of Āṅgirasa, 'Tārkṣya, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya', etc.

Of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas there is a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyava', etc. This is unchanged in the case of the

1. Śaṭhamarṣaṇa-
2. Bhadraṇa-
3. Madraṇa-
4. Bādarāyaṇa-‿
5. Aupamitya-‿
6. Aupagavi-
7. Sātyaki-
8. Sātyakāyana-‿
9. Āruṇi-
10. Nitundādīnām[1]

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kapistariḥ | 1. Kapistaraḥ | 1. Kapistaraḥ |
| 2. Svastitaro | 2. Svastitaro | 2. Svastitaro |
| 3. Bindur | 3. Bindur | 3. Bindur |
| 4. Daṇḍiḥ | 4. Daṇḍiḥ | 4. Daṇḍiḥ |

1 So Garbe, S; Ed. -mandraṇa; P1 ṣṭamarāṇa; P2 śaṭamaraṇā.
2 S bharaṇa.
3 So Garbe, P2; Ed. mandraṇa; P1 bharaṇa again.
4 So Garbe's manuscripts (except 'S' -minyo, which he follows: in his footnote he conjectures aupamanyava); Ed. -apamitya; P aupamatya.
7 P1 satyaki; P2 sātvikisātyaki.
8 Cf. Baudh.; P1 -kāyani; Ed. -kāmya; all Garbe's manuscripts sātyaṃkāmya; P2 ādhmātmiki.
9 So Ed., Garbe; P1 ṛṇi; P2 omits.
10 So Ed. (nitunda, etc.); P2 nitundīnām; Garbe nituṇḍīnāṃ; P1 nutuṇḍīnāṃ; two of Garbe's manuscripts give the dentals, cf. Baudh.

1 So P1, cf. Mān.; Ed., P2 kapis; P1*a* vasastari; D2 kapistaṭiḥ; D1 kapiḥ tariḥ; Sk R kapayo.
2 Cf. Mān., W; Sk svastitarayo; R svaṃstitarayo; Ed. tittiriḥ; P1 svastiri; P2 tiśiri; D1 svastariḥ; D2 sastāri; perhaps for nos. 1 and 2 we should read kapis tarasvī; cf. Baudh. nos. 1 and 5, p. 124.
3 Cf. Mān., W; Ed., P2 vidir; P1 viditaṃ; D1 viduḥ; D2 biduḥ; R, cf. no. 4; Sk vidaco.
4 So Ed., P, D; Sk daṇḍino; R vindaḍino; this doubtless corresponds to tāṇḍin- in the Baudh. list; the sources there are unanimous for t-, while Mān., W, and Matsya corroborate d- here.

*W*

1 kapisvara.
3 vindur.
4 dvadgī.

*Mān.*

4 daḍī.

[1] For the Kapis, see among the Bharadvājas.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Śaktiḥ | 5. Śaktiḥ | 5. Śaktiḥ |
| 6. Patañjalir | 6. Patañcalo | 6. Patañjalir |
| 7. Bhojasī ca | 7. Bhojasī ca | 7. †bhojava |
| 8. †taivarandhiś | †jalumdhvas | jrarudhuś |
| 9. †caitakir | citṛśālī | caivaddiśālī |
| 10. Ūrdhvāsto | kukṣitaki | śītakiḥ |
| 11. Rājakeśī | 10. ūrdhvaś† | 10. arddhaṃ† |
| 12. Kalaśīkaṇṭhaḥ | 11. Rājakeśī | 11. Rājakeśī |
| 13. Kārīrayo | cocuṭiḥ | cauccuṭī |
| 14. Vānyāyanā | śaṃśipiḥ | śāṃśāpi |
| 15. Āmāvāsyāyanāḥ | 12. Kalaśīkaṇṭhaḥ | 12. Kalaśīkaṇṭhaḥ |
| 16. Kāpyāyanā iti | 13. Kārīrayo | 13. Kārīrayo |
| | 14. †vāha... | 14. Vānyāyanā |
| | (lacuna) | 15. vāmadhmāyanāḥ |
| | | 16. kāpyāḥ |
| | | kavaya iti |
| | ...s teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āṅgirasāmahīyava ... (lacuna) ... d angirovad ity adhvaryuḥ. | Pravara: ang. āmahyavorukṣayaseti |

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Āmahīyava,[1] Aurakṣaya', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Saṃkṛti- | 1. Saṃkṛti- | 1. Saṃkṛti- |
| 2. Pūtimāṣa- | 2. Pūtimāṣa- | 2. Pautimāṣi- |
| 3. Tāṇḍi- | 3. Taṇḍi- | 3. Taṇḍi- |
| 4. Śambu- | 4. Śambu- | 4. śambhuḥ |

5 So Ed., P, D; R, Sk dikṣva-śaktayaḥ; cf. Matsya.
6 Sk patañjayo.
7 Conj.; Ed., P, D1 bhūyasī; D2 bhūyasi rājasiḥ; Sk bhūyasinaḥ; R bhūyasitas; S bhūyasā.
8 So P1, R, D1; P1*a* -diś; P2 tivar-; Ed. tivaradhiś; D2 naivaradhiḥ; Sk tairandhayaḥ; S tirathiś.
9 So Ed., P1, R, D, S; Sk -kapaḥ; P2 catakir.
10 ? So Sk; R ū-; Ed., P, D1 adhvāsu; D2 aśvāsu; cf. Matsya.
11 P1*a* -si; D2 -śi.
12 Restored, cf. Mān., W, Matsya, gaṇa *upakādi*; D1 kalasī kaṇṭha(riḥ); D2 kalasikaṇṭhaḥ; Ed. kalānikaṭaṃ; P kalāsikaṭaṃ; S kalāśikaṭam; R, Sk kalasinaḥ kaṇvāḥ.
13 So P1; Ed., P2 ko-; P1*a*, D2 kāri-; R sārī-; Sk karītayaḥ; S kārīrāvo.
14 So P2, Ed., R; P1 -yānā; S, D2 vātyā-; Sk -yavāḥ; D1 omits.
15 So Sk; R -syānā; D ămā-; P1*a* -vasyayenā; P1 āmāvasyā only; Ed., P2 omit.
16 Conj.; Ed., P, D, Sk kātyā-; R kānyā-.

3 So Ed., P1; P2, S, R taṇḍi; Sk taṇḍavaḥ.
4 So S, Sk, R (śambavaḥ); P1 sāṃdhu; P1*a* sādhu; Ed. sāmba; P2 omits.

*W*

5 (omits visarga).
7 moñjaśī ca.
11 cācakeśī.

4 śamvu. Between nos. 5 and 6, adds: pautimāsāyaṇānāṃ.

*Mān.*

5 śaktī.
6 patajaṃliḥ.
11 pādakeśi.
12 kalaśīkaṭaṃ.

2 pautipauttimākhi.

[1] MSS. *āmahayya.*





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Śaivagava- | 5. †śaivavānā | 5. †śevapāyanānāṃ |
| 6. Jānaki- | 6. Jānaki- | 6. Jānaki- |
| 7. †tairāghāratavya- | 7. †tailadāla- | 7. †tetailvakādvyalātavya‿ |
| 8. Ārṣabhi- | 8. Ārṣabhi- | 8. Ārṣabhi- |
| 9. Cārāyaṇi- | śetat- | †lāṃgaṃdhi- |
| 10. †sahigāṅgi- | 9. Cārāyaṇi- | 9. Cārāyaṇī |
| 11. laugākṣi- | †bhāroyaṇina- | (lacuna) |
| 12. tālānagahi† iti | 10? gāṅgāyani† iti | ...iti |

(Both have the form Gaurivīta in the pravara.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āṅgirasa, Sāṃkṛtya, Gaurivīta', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. †lomāyana- | 1. †svādhyāyana- | 1. ... |
| 2. Harita- | 2. Harita- | 2. Harita[ḥ] |
| 3. Kautsa- | 3. Kutsa- | 3. Kautsa- |
| 4. Painga- | 6. Śankha- | 6. Śankha- |
| 5. Dārbhya- | 5. Darbha- | 5. Darbha- |
| 6. Śankha- | 4. Painga- | 4. Painga- |
| 7. Bhaimagava- | 7. Bhaimagava- | 7. Bhaimagava- |
| 8. Hāstidāsi- | 10. Mādragāri- | 10. Mādrakāri- |
| 9. †vātsyapāṇi- | Gāṇagāri- | Gāṇakāri- |
| 10. Mādrakāri | 8. Hāstidāsi- | 8. Hāstidāsi- |

5 Restored, cf. Baudh., Āśv.; Ed. saipaṭhana; P1 saipavana; P2 saithapana; D1 saupavanaḥ; Sk bhaugavāḥ saivavagnāḥ; R śaiyagavā saiyavanā; S. śaibuga.
6 So Ed., P, D, Sk, R; S vrānaki.
7 So P1, R; Ed., P2 tairāghātaravya (P2 -ghă-); D1 tairandhaḥ sūtavyaḥ; Sk tairādyāḥ saravyāḥ; P1*a* tairāyāharatavya; S rādyāratavya; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 8 (tārakādya)?
8 Conj. cf. Baudh.; P2 ṛṣabhi; P1 ṛṣibhi; Ed. ṛṣibhī; S ṛṣimi; Sk ṛṣanayaḥ; R tryaṣabhayaś; D1 sūṣibhiḥ.
9 So P1; P2, Ed., Sk, S, R vā- (Ed. also -ṇī); D1 cāsarāyaṇīḥ.
10 So Ed., P; R, Sk sahayo gāṅgayo; D1 sahiḥ gāṅgi-; S sattvahilegāṅgi.
11 Ed. laukṣi; R laukṣayas; D1 logākṣi; rest, laugākṣi.
12 So P; R, Sk -nā-; Ed. tālāgā only; S tārāmaha; P1*a* ṣātālā-; D1 tālaḥ nagahir.

From the Haritas to the Bṛhadukthas inclusive is omitted by all the sources except Ed., whose text, however, can be improved by a comparison with the other lists.
5 Ed. ḍālbhya.
7 Ed. haimagava: cf. the reading of B in Baudh. no. 6.

8 ? Ed. hāstyadāsi.
10 Conj.; cf. Baudh.; Ed. mādrikābhi-; a Madragāri is mentioned in the Vaṃśa-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-Veda, the two forms being doubtless related as in the case of laugākṣi, laukākṣi.

*W*

6 jātaki.
8 parṣabhi.
9 purātaki.

2 harima.
4 pai(n)gya (*sic* Weber).
7 bhaimṛgeva.
10 madragāri-.
gaṇagāri-.
8 hāstidāpi.

*Mān.*

6 jānukī.
8‿arṣibhi.

4 paingaṃ.
10 mārdrakāri.
gānakāri (dental).
8 hādāyi.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 11. Lāveraṇayo iti | 11. Lāveraṇi-kaumāra-Hārita-pālāsī-Māndhātā⟨ra⟩ iti | 11. Lāveraṇi-kālaśīte iti |

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.; or 'Māndhātra, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. atha Viṣṇuvṛddhāḥ | 1. atha Vaiṣṇuvṛddhiḥ | 1. atha Vaiṣṇuvṛddhiḥ |
| 2. Śaṭhamarṣaṇa- | 2. Śaṭhamarṣaṇa- | 2. Śaṭhamarṣaṇa- |
| 3. jatriṇi- | 3. kṣatriṇa- | 3. chattṛna- |
| 4. katriṇi- | 4. chatriṇa- | 4. potṛna- |
| 5. putriṇi- | 5. bhadriṇa- | 5. gotṛna- |
| 6. Bādarāyaṇā iti | 6. Bādarāyaṇā iti | 6. Bādarāyaṇā iti |
| | (Pravara: āngirasa vairūpa pārṣadaśva.) [kutsa] -rathītarāṇām tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa paurukutsa trāsadasyava, etc. | (Pravara: āngirasa paurakutsa trāsadasyava.) rathītarāṇām tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vairūpa pārṣadaśva, etc. |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, *'Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyava', etc.[1]

The Rathītaras have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Rāthītara', etc.; or 'Āngirasa, Pārṣadaśva, Rāthītara', etc.*

---

11 Conj., cf. W, Mān., gaṇa *gahādi*; Ed. laveṇā iti.

2 Ed. śatapatriṇi.
3–5 Read bhadraṇa, madraṇa, with Baudh., Āpast.?

*W*

11 lāveriṇi.
hārita.

1 atha vaiṣṭuvṛmiḥ.
2 saḍamadriṇaḥ.

*Mān.*

1 atha vaiṣṇavṛdvi.
2 śaṭamadvṛṇa.
6 vadottṛṇā.

---

[1] The passage enclosed by the asterisks is conjecturally restored, but a comparison of the other lists makes it virtually certain. Ed. reads: 'āngirasa pārṣadaśva rāthītareti angirovat p.r.; rathītarāṇāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vairūpa rāthītareti angirovad v.r.; purukutsānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa paurukutsa trāsadasyaveti angirovat p.t.' What has happened is that one of the alternative pravaras of the Rathītaras has been misplaced, thus ousting the proper pravara of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas; thereafter, some scribe, finding the latter without a family, has invented the Paurukutsas from the pravara itself. It is probable that the second alternative pravara of the Rathītaras should be further emended to 'Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pārṣadaśva', cf. Matsya, Mān., W.





[The Bṛhaduktha-Vāmadevas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Vāmadeva', etc.][1]

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| | †ārṣabhāginām† tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vāmadevya gautameti, etc. | †raṣābhagānām† tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vāmadevya gautameti, etc. |
| 1. Hiraṇyastambi- | 1. hira(ṇya)garbhā | 1. hiraṇyagarbha- |
| 2. Sātyamugri- | 2. chatrayo (corr. chaha-[trayo) | 2. chatrakayo |
| 3. Maudgalā iti | 3. Mudgalā iti | 3. Mudgalā iti |

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Uruṇḍaś ca | 1. Uruṇḍaś ca | 1. †rurumgākyāyanā |
| 2. Bhuruṇḍaś ca | 2. Bhuruṇḍaś ca | 2. . . . ḍas ca |
| 3. tṛtīyaḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ | 3. tṛtīyaḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ caturtho †gadībho† nārī | 3. tṛtīyaḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ caturtho gardabho nārī |
| 4. tataḥ Prāgāda- | 4. tataḥ prākara- | 4. tataḥ prākīra- |
| 5. Saunārī | 5. sovarī | 5. sauvāra |
| 6. Markaṭo | 6. Markaṭo | 6. Markaṭo |
| 7. Ramaṇaḥ | 7. Ramaṇaḥ | 7. Ramaṇaḥ |
| 8. Ṣaṇaḥ | 8. Ṣaṇaḥ | 8. Śaṇaḥ |
| 9. Kaṇvā | 9. Kaṇvā | 9. Kaṇvā |

---

1, 2 So Ed., P, D.
3 P1 maudgalāyanā; P2 mudgalāyanā.

1 Conj., cf. W, and AV 8. 6. 15, where the name denotes a class of demons. (In this connection it is perhaps pertinent to note that AV 2. 25 is a spell directed against demons named *Kaṇvas*.) Ed. bharaṇḍāś; P1, D1 bharuṇḍa; D2 bharuḍa; P2 bharuṇḍāś; P1*a* naruḍa; Sk bhāruḍāḥ; R bhāruṇḍa.
2 Conj., cf. W and possibly muruṇḍa (see Monier Williams' Dict. *s.v.*); if this is correct, nos. 1 and 2 have become transposed in Puruṣottama's text; for no. 2, Ed. hiraṇḍa; P1*a* kharaṇḍa (P1 omits); P2 bhāruṇḍa; D1 kharuṇḍa; D2 kharūṇḍa; Sk bhāruḍā again.
3 Ed. (as in nos. 1 and 2 also) has the plural.
4 ? Ed. prāgada; P pramāda; D prasāda; R prākārāḥ; Sk prākāsarāḥ.

5 So Ed., P, D1; D2 -rāri.
6 R markarā.
7 P2 ramaruṇaṃ.
8 So Ed.; rest saṇaḥ (P1*a* saraḥ), with dental *s*.

[Both W and Mān. place the Kaṇvas before the Viṣṇuvṛddhas.]

*W*

8 śunā (dental -n-).
9 kāṇvā.

*Mān.*

3 tṛtīyaḥ śāyanaś.
6 markaḍo.
7 rāmaṇaḥ.

---

[1] These are presumably dislocated from the Gautamas; Mān., W, and Matsya agree in giving them here immediately before the Mudgalas.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 10. Mārkaṭayo | 10. Mārkaṭayo | 10. Mārkaṭayo |
| 11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ | 11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ | 11. Rāmaṇeyāḥ |
| 12. Śāṇāyanā iti | 12. Śāṇāyanā iti | 12. Śāṇāyanā iti |

(Pravara as in K. & L.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kāṇva', etc.

Now, the following are the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*-families[1]—Bhāradvāja-Śungas and Kata-Śaiśiris.[2] They have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śaunga, Śaisira', etc.

atha yāny etāni dvyāmuṣyāyaṇāni kulāni bhavanti yathaitac chaunga-śaiśirayo[3] bharadvājāḥ śaungāḥ katāḥ śaiśiraya[4] ity eteṣām avivāhas teṣāṃ pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati—

| | |
|---|---|
| āngirasa bārhaspatya | āngirasa bārhaspatya |
| bhāradvāja kātya‿ | bhāradvāja śaunga |
| ātkīla‿iti, etc. | śaiśira‿iti, etc. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [1. Kapilāś ca | 1. Kapilāś ca | |
| 2. Śabarāś ca | 2. Śavalāś ca | |
| 3. Vibhiṇḍa- | 3. Vaibhiṇḍa- | |
| 4. Kauthuma‿ | 4. Kauthuma‿ | |
| 5. Agnijihvī ca | 5. Agnijihvī ca | |
| 6. Karṇaś ca | 6. Karṇaś ca | |
| 7. Sūtaś ca | 7. Sūtaś ca | rukṣa-bharadvājānāṃ[5] |
| 8. Ṛkṣa-Bharadvājā iti | 8. Rukṣa-Bharadvājā iti | pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati. |

(Pravara as in K & L)[6]

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10–12 give the patronymics of simplex forms already given in the verse above (nos. 1–8); it is possible that the verse is itself older, and has been incorporated verbatim by the Sūtra author.
10 So P2; P1 mărkaṭaya iti; D1 markaṭiḥ; D2 markar iti; Ed. mātkaṭayā.
11 Restored, cf. Mān.; Ed., P2 ramaṇāḥ; rest omit.
12 Ed. śāṇāyaṇā; rest omit.

*W*

11 rāmayaḥ.

12 śāmāyanā.

1 kapilāśva.
2 savalāśva.
3 vaibhaḍi.
5 agnijihvīva.
6 karnāśva.
8 (ca)kṣu-bharadvājā.

*Mān.*

10 mārkaṭāyo.

---

[1] *athemāni dvyāmuṣyāyaṇakulāni bhavanti.*
[2] So P1 = *bhāradvājāḥ śungāḥ katāḥ śaiśirayaḥ*; Ed. *bharadvājāḥ grādhāś śaungāḥ śaiśirā*; P2 *bharadvājāgrā śaungāḥ śiśirā*. These of course are not Kevala-Angirases, and would no doubt have been more fittingly given among the Bharadvājas.
[3] W *-śiśirayor*; Mān. *śaiśirīyo*.
[4] W omits *śaungāḥ* and *śaiśiraya* (and also the words *ity eteṣām avivāhas*).
[5] Mān. gives this family before the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*.
[6] Except that W, instead of *vāndana*, reads *dhana, dhanadavad*. Also, Mān. *māttṛvacasa*, W *mātrivacasa*, both *mātṛvacovad*.





These have no intermarriage. They have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa', etc.][1]

## D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Mudgalas, 'Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya'. But some pass over the name Āngirasa, and say Tārkṣya, viz. 'Tārkṣya, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya'.[2]

Of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, 'Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyava', etc.

(The Gargas which come next in the Sūtra text really belong to the Bharadvājas, *q.v.*)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Harita- | 3. Pinga- | 5. Darbha- |
| 2. Kutsa | 4. Śankha- | 6. Bhaimagavānām[3] |

These have 'Āngirasa, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva'. But some pass over Āngirasa, and say Mandhātṛ, viz. 'Māndhātra, Āmbarīṣa, Yauvanāśva'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Saṃkṛti- | 3. Taṇḍi- | 5. Śaivagavānām |
| 2. Pūtimāṣa- | 4. Śambu-[4] | |

These have 'Āngirasa, Gaurivīta, Sāṃkṛtya'. Or else Śakti is the founder of the family,[5] viz. 'Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāṃkṛtya'.

Of the Kaṇvas, 'Āngirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kāṇva'. But some replace Ajamīḍha by Ghora, viz. 'Āngirasa, Ghaura, Kāṇva'.

Of the Kapis, 'Āngirasa, Āmahīyava,[6] Aurukṣayasa.[7]

For those who are designated by two names, e.g. Śaunga-Śaiśiris, the Śungas being Bharadvājas, the Śaiśiris Katas, he recites pravara-names from both sides—one from one side and two from the other, or two from one and three from the other (for a pravara cannot consist of four names or of more than five)—viz. 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ātkīla'.

---

[1] P1 and P2 both omit this family (P1 also omits the pravara of the preceding Śunga-Śaiśiris), and we are thus dependent on Ed. alone—unless the readings of D, R and Sk for this family are derived hence; see the notes to Baudh.,Raukṣāyaṇas. The text of Ed. is given above, except in the case of no. 8, where the form given seems a necessary correction (cf. Mān., Matsya) for Ed., *bṛhad-bharadvāja*. This family also is out of place among the Kevala-Angirases, and really belongs to the Bharadvājas, as the pravara shows. Mān., W, Matsya also give it among the Kevalas.
[2] P omits the alternative.
[3] P1a *vaimagāvānām*.
[4] P2 *śaṃvu-śambhu*.
[5] *śaktir* (Berl., ChRao, *BiblInd śaktyo*) *vā mūlam*. P2 *śaktipūrvo mūlaṃ vā*.
[6] So Berl., ChRao, *BiblInd*; Ed. *-hayyava‿*; rest in various stages of corruption.
[7] *BiblInd -urukṣayasa*; the suffix *-sa-* is surprising, and appears in none of the other accounts.

## E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

1. Kapistara-
2. Svastitaro
†dikṣva-
5. Śaktiḥ
6. Patañjaliḥ
7. Bhojasī
8. †jalasimbiś ca
3. Bindur
4. Dāṇḍiḥ
9? †kusīdakiḥ
10. Ūrdhvāstī
11. Rājakeśī ca
saujatiḥ
†śaṃsapis tathā
śāliś ca
12. Kalaśīkaṇṭha
13. ṛṣiḥ Kārīrayas tathā
16. Kāpyo
14. Vānyāyaniś caiva
15. Āmāvāsyāyanis tathā

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, O best of kings: Angiras and Amahīyu,[1] and Urukṣaya.[2] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Saṃkṛtiḥ
2. Pūtimāṣaś ca
4. †manuḥ
†sambadhir eva ca
3. Taṇḍiś ca
6. Jānakiś caiva

P 1 omits this family.
1 Conj. from K. & L.; M kapītara; Ed., D kapaitara; S kapīstapa; P 2 kadhautarau (P 2 gives the first five names in the order 5, 3, 4, 2, 1); Sk kapeṭarāḥ; R kapaisarāḥ; Kṛṣ kapitarasya.
2 So M; Ed., P 2 svadautara; D 2, R svadaitara; D svaidataraḥ; Sk svadataraḥ; Kṛṣ taittarodi.
S, Kṛṣ dikṣva; P 2 dīkṣva (cf. R, Sk in the K. & L. list); Ed. dikṣa; M dākṣiḥ.
6 Kṛṣ pā-.
7 Conj., cf. the other lists; m bhūyasī (M -sir, S -sā).
8 So Ed., P 2, S; Kṛṣ -śimbi; M -sindhiś; D 1 -sindhakiḥ; D 2 -siṃsiḥ; Sk -siñcayaḥ; R jalamivaṭhāḥ.
3 So Ed., P 2, M 2; M 1 vindu; Kṛṣ biṃṭha; S bhindur.
4 Restored; Ed. dāḍaḥ; P 2 dāḍā; Kṛṣ drāḍa; M mādiḥ; S dāśaḥ; D gādiḥ.
9 M kusīdakiḥ; Ed. -śī-; S kusīdaniḥ; P 2 kusīdariḥ; Sk kusīdarayaḥ; R kusīdapāraya'; D 1 kusīdaḥ (given after no. 10); D 2 kasodakoḥ; Kṛṣ śruśīdari.
10 So S (-ī); Ed., P 2, Kṛṣ ūrdhvasta (P 2 -sto); D 1 ūrkasuḥ; D 2 ūrkasū; M ūrvas tu.
11 Kṛṣ -keśīya.
saujaṭiḥ, so P 2, D 2; D 1 -riḥ; Sk svauj-; R -ṭh-; S -javis; Kṛṣ raujaṭi; Ed. rojaṭī; M. vauṣaḍiḥ.
śaṃsapis, so M; Ed., P 2, R, Sk, D, Kṛṣ sāsavis; D 2 sāṃsāviḥ; S sasavi.
sāliś ca, so M; Ed. sali; P 2 tsali; S, Kṛṣ sāli; D salli; Sk sallamaḥ.
12 So M; Ed., P 2 kalasī kaṇvā; Kṛṣ kalalī kaṇya; S kalalāḥ.
13 Kṛṣ kābhaya.
16 Conj.; M kāṭyo; Ed. kṣvajo; P 2 kṣvajyo; S kṣvaḍhyā; R, D 2 kṣaṇya; Sk kṣarāpāḥ; D 1 kṣapeyaḥ; Kṛṣ jvalaya; (the nibandha readings may, however, be derived from -kaṇṭha of no. 12); D 1, D 2 add kāyaḥ.
14 So Ed., P 2; Kṛṣ vyānyā-; D, M 2 dhānyā-; M 1 ghānyā-.
15 Conj.; Ed., P 2, D 1 sāvasyāyanir eva ca; S sāvāsyāyani; D 2 svāvasthāyanir; M bhāvāsyāyanir eva ca; R sāvasyāyana iti; Sk sāvasthāyanayaḥ; Kṛṣ vasāsyāyani. After no. 15 M adds: bhāradvājiḥ (M 2 bha-) saubudhiś ca laghvī devamatis tathā.

The Saṃkṛtis are completely missing in Ed., P 1, P 2; M 1 is also defective, starting parasparāyaṇyaparṇī ca laukṣir gārgyaharis tathā, etc. R, Sk and D also give some of the Matsya names.
1, 2 M 2 saṃkṛtiś ca trimārṣṭiś ca; D 1 bhillātiḥ vibhātakiḥ (?); Sk bhillātayo bībhītakāḥ; R bhillātayo vibhātakayas.
4 So M 2; D 1 manusambandhiḥ; presumably the name Śambu is concealed here.
6 M 2 cenātakis.

[1] Kṛṣ *āmahīya*; Ed. *-āmaḥayyaś ca*; M 1 *damabāhyaś ca*; M 2 *damavāhyaś ca*; P 2 *-āmahaiyyau dvau*; (P 2 also gives a variant, *amahayyoṃgirā mukhya(ḥ)*.

[2] So M, *caivāpy urukṣayaḥ*; Ed. *caivāvyurukṣayaḥ*; Kṛṣ *rūkṣā*; P 2 *auruksavyas* (v.l. *urukṣayyas*) *tṛtīyakaḥ*.





7. †tailakā
dakṣa eva ca
9. Cārāyaṇiś ca
8. Ārṣabhiś ca
11. †laukṣir
10. †gārgyaharis tathā
12. †gālavaś ca

These all have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Saṃkṛti, and Gaurivīta. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. †jñātvāyano
2. Haritaś ca
3. Kautsaḥ
4. Pingas tathaiva ca
8. Hastidāso
9. †mātsyamālir
10. Mādragārir
11. Laveraṇiḥ
7. Bhīmagavaḥ
6. Śankha-
5. Darbhī

All these are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Ambarīṣa, and Yuvanāśva.[1] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

[Bṛhaduktha and Vāmadeva are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras and Bṛhaduktha, and Vāmadeva.[2] These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.][3]

Also, those who are born in the Kutsa-gotra[4] are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, †Angiras, and Trasadasyu, and Purukutsa†. Kutsas have no intermarriage with Kutsas—thus say those who have ancient knowledge.[5]

The pravara of the Rathītaras is said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Ṿirūpa, and Rathītara. Rathītaras never marry with Rathītaras.

7 So M 2; D 1 tailaḥ; Sk, R tailayaḥ.
9 M 2 nā-.
8 M 2 cārṣiniś ca.
10 So M; D 1 kādravyaḥ hāriḥ.
12 So M 2; M 1 gālaviś caiva; D 1 galāgaliḥ; M 2 gives variant, lāgaliś ca. D, R, Sk add two names, which may represent another line lost from the Purāṇa—vaiyyāghrapādaḥ (R -padyāḥ)...śālāyanaḥ. In place of caiva tryārṣeyaḥ (so M 1), M 2 has ca anehaś ca.

The Haritas are omitted by M 1, P 1, Kṛṣ.
1 So Ed.; P 2 -pato; M 2 kātyāyano; (D, Sk khāṇḍāyana?).
2 Restored; M 2 haritakaḥ; Ed. harir vaśyaḥ; P 2 hariḥ karvo; S harita-.
3, 4 So M 2; S -kautsaḥ paingalaś ca tathaiva ca; Ed. paulagaś ca tathaiva ca; P matsya-paulaga eva ca.
8 So S; Ed., P 2, D -vāso; M 2 kaṇḍidāso.
9 So P 2, D 2; Sk mă-; Ed. vāsya-; D 1 -bhāliḥ; S vatsamālir.
10 Restored; Ed., P 2 māṇḍimālir; Sk māṇḍamālayaḥ; S gāṇḍimāliḥ; D māṇḍiḥ (D 1 umāṇḍiḥ) mauliḥ; M 2 mādrir mauliḥ; later in the list, D 1 madragāriḥ; D 2 mandragāri; Sk madrāgarayaḥ.
11 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed., P 2, Sk, D ga-; M 2 kuberaṇiḥ.
7 Restored; M 2 -vegaḥ; Ed. kṣīmavegaḥ; P 2 mīmavagaḥ; S kṣīmavaigaś.
6, 5 Ed., P 2 sākhadarbhi (P 2 before no. 7); M 2 śāśvadarbhir; S śāsadarbhir.

[1] So Ed., P 2; M 2 *angirā bṛhadaśvaś ca jīvanāśvas tathaiva ca*—more surprising as M 2 gives *yuva-* from one manuscript in a footnote.

[2] Cf. K. & L., etc.

[3] P 1 omits this family; M 1 omits from the prohibition of intermarriage to the words *purukutsas tathaiva ca*.

[4] So M 2; Ed., P 1 *kumbha-gotra*; P 2 *ūbha-gotra*.

[5] So Ed. (*purāvidaḥ*); M *purātanāḥ*. The claim is somewhat ironical in view of the incorrectness of the information to which it is attached. The pravara given really belongs to the Viṣṇuvṛddhas; cf. the note on the parallel passage on p. 128. The Matsya's source already had the corruption, and since an emended text has already been given in the K. & L. list, it seems best to leave the dislocations as they stand in the Purāṇa text. The Kutsas here originate from the Purukutsas, derived from the pravara; the Kutsas proper are members of the Harita-gotra.

1. Viṣṇuvṛddhaḥ 3. †jatṛṇaḥ 5. †putravaś ca mahātejās
2. Śaṭhamarṣir 4. †katṛṇas tathā 6. tathā ca Bādarāyaṇaḥ

These are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, †Angiras[1] and Virūpa, and Pārṣadaśva†.[2] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

2. Sātyamugrir mahātejā 1. Hiraṇyastambi- 3. Mudgalau

These are all said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, O king, Angiras, and Bhārmyaśva[3] and Mudgala of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(1. haṃsajihvo 4. viḍādayaḥ 7. paurāṇyāntāni-
2. devajihva 5. apāgneyo 8. maudgalau
3. agnijihvo 6. mugrayaś ca

These are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras and Bhārmyaśva, and the great Maudgala. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.)

1. †ārṣādayaś 3. tṛtīyaḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ 5. Saunārī
2. caturayaḥ† 4. tataḥ Prāgāda- 6. Markaṭo

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1 So S; rest -iḥ; M2 can corrupt even this well-known name into viṣṇusiddhiḥ.
2 ? Cf. the other lists; Ed., P2 satomadrir; P1 ṣṭhomarirdrir; M śivamatir; Kṛṣ śāṭhya saṭha maṭha maṣaṇa; S śaṭho(-madrir?).
3 So M, Ed., P2; P1 jantriṇa.
4 So M, Ed., P2 (M-ttṛ-); P1 kattṛṇaṃs.
5 So M; Ed. atrivaś ca; P2 atrivāco; P1 atrija; S atripa; Kṛṣ for nos. 3–5 has only bhraṇa bhadraṇa (cf. Baudh.).
6 So Kṛṣ only; P caivāparāyaṇaḥ; Ed. caivoparāyaṇaḥ; M vairaparāyaṇa; Kṛṣ adds several more names, also from Āpast., and gives the correct pravara—'Āng., paurukutsa, trāsadasyava'—followed by sātāmadri jatṛṇa katṛṇa atriva apārāyaṇa.

3 So M; Ed., P, D1, Kṛṣ ālavāla; Sk alabālāḥ; D2 ālaṣātyau.
4 So Ed., P; D viḍādiḥ (bi-); Sk viḍālādayaḥ; M virāḍapaḥ; Kṛṣ viḍa only (=viḍa, etc.? Cf. no. 7).
5 So M; P2 āpāgnayaḥ; P1 apāgrayā; Ed. āyāgreyās; D ăpāgreyo; Sk āgnādayaḥ; R āpāgrayaḥ; Kṛṣ āgneya only.
6 So P1, D; Ed. su-; P2 śūnayaś ca; M tvaśvayuś ca; Kṛṣ āśugneya; R sranayaśla; Sk sajayaḥ.
7 So P2; Ed. pār-; P1 -ātāni; D1 paurāḥ; D2 paurāṇir; M paraṇyastāvi; Kṛṣ pauraṇya; (R, Sk tāraṇāḥ?).
8 Kṛṣ mud-; P2 mauphalāḥ.

2 So M2, P2, D, Sk; Ed. sā-.
1 P1 -stevi. Kṛṣ omits the whole family.

This list of additional Mudgalas is attested in all the sources for the Matsya; but as it has no counterpart in any of the Sūtra accounts, the names remain quite uncertain. In the pravara, in place of Bhārmyaśva (so S), Ed., P read tāviś ca, Kṛṣ āviś ca; M tāṇḍiś ca.
1 D1 hasa-; P1 hāsa-.
2 D2 -jikaḥ.

1 So Ed., P1, D1; P2 thādaś only; D2 arthādiḥ; R āryādayac-; Sk āryādayas; M apāṇḍus ca; Kṛṣ ārṣāhiya.
2 So P, D; Ed. -āyaḥ; Kṛṣ ākubhaya; M guruś caiva; R, Sk caturāḥ; for nos. 1–2, see K. & L., which, although doubtful, is certainly nearer the truth than the forms attested here.
3 Ed. śā-.
4 So Ed., P2; P1 prakijtasāda; Kṛṣ prāgāyana; M prāgātha.
5 So Ed., P1; P2 -bhārī; M mānārī (M2 has v.l. sonārī); Kṛṣ asenāri.
6 So Ed., P2; D2 -ṭiḥ; M mārkaṇḍo; P1 markaḥ ṭo; Kṛṣ karmaṭha.

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[1] M1 omits from here to the pravara of the next family.
[2] M2 *vṛṣaparva*!
[3] M1, M2 *matsyadagdhaś ca.*





7. Ramaṇaḥ 9. Kaṇva 11. Rāmaṇeyas tathā hy ṛṣiḥ
8. Śaṇaḥ 10. Mārkaṭayaś caiva 12. Śāṇāyanas

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Ajamīḍha, and Kaṇva[1] of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(For the three-*ṛṣi* Gargas, who come next in the Purāṇa text, see the Bharadvājas, where they correctly belong.)

[1. atha Ṛkṣa-Bharadvājau 2. ṛṣiś ca Vandanas tathā 3. ṛṣir Matavacās caiva

These are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Bharadvāja, and Bṛhaspati, and the *ṛṣi* Matavacas, and the *ṛṣi* Vandana. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.][2]

1. Bharadvājaḥ[3] 3. Śaungaḥ 4. Śaiśireyas tathaiva ca
2. Kataḥ

All these are said to be born in *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*-gotras. They are said to have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, Angiras, and Bharadvāja, and Bṛhaspati, and Śaunga[4] and Śaiśira. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

O king, these Angirases of great power, in three divisions, founders of gotras, have been told to you, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

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7 D1 āmaranā (dental); D2 amaghanā; M maraṇaḥ.
8 Restored; Ed., P, Kṛṣ saṇaḥ; M śivaḥ; D śanaḥ (dental -n-).
9 So Ed., P2, Kṛṣ; P1 kavo; M kaṭu.
10 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed. mărkaṭayaś; P1 mārṣarkayaś; P2 karmaṭayaś; M markaṭapaś; Kṛṣ makaṃṭaka.
11 Conj., cf. K. & L.; Ed., P tathā gādāyano (P1 go-) rathiḥ; M tathā nāḍāyano hy ṛṣiḥ; D1 godāyanaḥ rathiḥ; D2 godāvato rayiḥ; Kṛṣ gāhāyana rathī.
12 Restored; Ed., D śyāmāyanis; P1 śyāmāyoni; P2 uyaḥmānis; M, Kṛṣ śyāmāyana. After this name, D adds: gardabhaḥ prāgāvasuḥ nāḍāyanaḥ (D2 -manaḥ) śyāmāyanaḥ (D2 rām-) saiveriḥ (D2 śauvariḥ) nārī iti (D2 nārodra iti)—a clear indication that D had at hand a text of the Purāṇa as well as Puruṣottama's work. This Purāṇa manuscript is, however, not often used.

1 So M (the Matsya text here, as often elsewhere, takes the two names as a dvandva instead of as a Karmadhāraya compound; the earlier sense would seem to have been: 'those of the Bharadvājas who are Ṛkṣas.' The plural would therefore be more apt); Ed. aśvariṣka-; P atvariś ca bh.; Kṛṣ atvarika bh.; D atvariḥ bharadvājaḥ.
2 Conj. restored; M ṛṣivān mānavas tathā; M2, v.l. ṛṣir vāmo naras tathā; P1 ṛṣiś cātmabhavas tathā; P2 krathiś cātmābhavas t.; Ed. krathiśvān mānavas t.; Kṛṣ krathika ātmānavasu; D ătmabhavaḥ.
3 Conj. restored; Ed., P1 ṛṣir mantravaraś caiva; M, Kṛṣ maitravaraś; P2 maitrāvaruś; D mantravara. Similarly, in the pravara—Ed. maitravara; P2 maitrāvaras tunyo; P1 matravara; M mitravara; Ed., P1 ātmabhavas; P2 munir ātmābhavistimo; M ṛṣivān mānavas; for the last two pravara names, Kṛṣ has sainya gārgya.

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[1] M *kaṭya*!
[2] These of course also belong to the Bharadvājas; but the Maṭsya agrees with K. & L., Mān. and W in giving them among the Kevalas.
[3] The *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas* are given only in Ed. and M. Ed. agrees with M in the error *Hutaḥ* for *Kataḥ*, and may be here directly dependent on a text of the Purāṇa. The order of the names shows quite clearly that the Matsya author did not understand the Sūtra text, whose purport is that the Śungas are Bharadvājas and the Śaiśiris are Katas.
[4] Restored (*śaungaś ca*); Ed., M *maudgalyaś*. Ed. remarks in a note that the last *śloka* is found in the Calcutta edition of the Purāṇa, but not in the manuscript of the *Pravara-mañjarī*.

[After his 'Bharadvāja-section', in which he quotes also the Kevala Angirases for all the lists except Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, Puruṣottama comments]:

In this pravara-section of the Angirases in three divisions as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, among the gotras enumerated, those in whose pravaras the name of Gautama, one of the seven *ṛṣis*, occurs, either as recited in the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and since Baudhāyana says: 'There is no intermarriage of any of the Gautamas.' So too, those gotra-gaṇas in whose pravaras the name of Bharadvāja, one of the seven *ṛṣis*, occurs, either as recited in the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and since Baudhāyana says: 'There is no intermarriage of any of the Bharadvājas.' The others, the Kevala Angirases, who are outside the seven *ṛṣis*, Haritas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Pṛṣadaśvas, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc., do have intermarriage one with another, since there is no question of their belonging to the same gotra, but they have no marriage within their own gaṇa. This in brief is the meaning.

We shall now explain these sections in detail.

All that has already been said at the beginning of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra-section, from the words: 'In the gotra-gaṇas here cited', down to 'We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgus)', is to be recalled here.

In the Sūtra-sections here quoted there is considerable variation between the order of their readings, particularly in the case of the Āśvalāyana Sūtra. Thus, the *Śunga-śaiśiris* are read at the end by Baudhāyana(?), Kātyāyana, and Āśvalāyana, but by Āpastamba, etc., they are read in the middle of the *Bharadvāja-gaṇa*. Again, the *Ṛkṣas*, read by Āśvalāyana in the middle of the Gautama-section, have their proper mention here. The Kapis are given immediately after the *Ṛkṣa-Angirases* by Āpastamba, etc.; but all the others give them further on. Also, Baudhāyana and the rest give the Saṃkṛtis in the present chapter, while Āpastamba gives them among the *Vasiṣṭha-gaṇas*. Moreover, there is considerable variation in the order of the Haritas, Mudgalas, etc. This being so, we shall give our explanation according to the order of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana, who are in the majority.

The Bharadvājas proper (*kevala*) who come first in the lists, and the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* families, the Śunga-Śaiśiris (the Śungas being Bharadvājas, the Śaiśiris Katas),[1] have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, resulting from the occurrence of the name Bharadvāja in all their pravaras. The Gargas are established to be Bharadvājas by the occurrence of the name Bharadvāja in their pravara. The three-*ṛṣi* Gargas also are barred from intermarriage, since

[1] Ed. *śunga-śaiśirīṇāṃ bharadvāja grāthādīnāṃ dvyāmuṣyāyaṇādīnām*; cf. the readings in K. & L., above, p. 130.





Gārgya says: 'The three-*ṛṣi* Gargas have no intermarriage with the Bharadvājas or the Ṛkṣas.'

If it should be argued that the Kapis are not Bharadvājas, since the name Bharadvāja does not occur in their pravara, we reply that this is a mistaken view, since Āpastamba gives them among the Bharadvāja-gaṇas, between two families who are acknowledged to be Bharadvājas, namely, the Gargas and the Ṛkṣas. Moreover, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 4. 19. 10, in the passage beginning: 'The universal monarch Bharata was the son of Duṣyanta', the names and descent of the pravara-*ṛṣis* of the Kapis are given by Parāśara, precisely as they appear in the text here. And in that passage, the list reads, Angiras, Bṛhaspati, Bharadvāja, Āmahayya, Urukṣaya, Kapi. And since a number of hymn-composers occur (in their ancestry, the Kapis) name only three in their pravara, just as do the Rathītaras, according to the prescription of the Sūtras, and there is therefore no fault here.

*The dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa Śunga-Śaiśiris.* This ancient dvigotra family is cited by way of example, to show that dvigotra families of the present day are also to avoid both gotras in marriage. 'The Śungas are Bharadvājas', because they appear in the list of Bharadvājas, with the pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja'. 'The Śaiśiris are Katas', and thus Viśvāmitras, since they appear among the Viśvāmitras, with the pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla'. Yājñavalkya says:[1] 'The son who is born to a son-less man by *niyoga*, in the "field" of another, inherits from both and offers the funeral *piṇḍa* to both, according to the law.' Now, since the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas* must therefore recite pravaras from both families, and since the Sūtras prohibit a pravara of four or six names, they must recite only three or five names in their pravara. Since Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi say below:[2] '... the first pravara is that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter', the Śunga-Śaiśiris have arisen from the seed of a Śunga Bhāradvāja in the 'field' of a Kata Vaiśvāmitra. The descendants therefore have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ātkīla'. Āpastamba gives a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āngirasa, Kātya, Ātkīla'.[3] This example is to be followed whenever several names are to be recited in a pravara from among a larger number of hymn-composers. Similarly, *putrikā-putras*, sons given in adoption, or purchased, avoid both gotras in marriage, and form their pravara from both gotras after the example of the Śunga-Śaiśiris. Gautama's rule,[4] barring marriage with 'relatives on the father's side up to the seventh generation, and also (in the family) of the begetter', must be taken to refer to cases other than *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*, who avoid altogether both paternal gotras.

Since the Saṃkṛtis are given by Āpastamba at the end of the Vasiṣṭhas, and since in the pravara here among the Angirases, the name of Śakti, a Vasiṣṭha, occurs, the question arises as to whether they are Angirases or Vasiṣṭhas. And

[1] 2. 127.
[2] p. 212.
[3] This seems to be a mistake.
[4] GautDhS 4. 3–4.

since there is no conclusive reason why they should be one rather than the other, one must conclude that they are *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*. This is confirmed by the fact that Kātyāyana mentions them below[1] among the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* gaṇas, together with undoubted *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*, the Śunga-Śaiśiris. Therefore, the Saṃkṛtis avoid in marriage not only their own gaṇa, but also all the gaṇas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

The five gaṇas, Bharadvājas proper, Ṛkṣas, Kapis, Gargas, and *dvigotras*, have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, and because of Baudhāyana's statement to this effect.

[After the Baudhāyana and Āpastamba accounts of the Kevala Angirases, Puruṣottama comments:]

All that has been said above at the beginning of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra section, from the words, 'Among the gotra-gaṇas here cited', down to 'We shall explain those of the Bhṛgus', is to be recalled here, because of the importance of its application.

Among those quoted here—apart from the Haritas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas—the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas* and Kapis[2] have no intermarriage with the Bharadvājas, since they are included in the Bharadvāja gaṇas.

Some consider that the Pṛṣadaśvas are Rathītaras. Others think that since in the *Matsya Purāṇa* the gaṇas of the Pṛṣadaśvas and the Rathītaras are taught separately, with distinct pravaras, they form distinct families.[3] Even on this view, however, there is no intermarriage between the Rathītaras and Pṛṣadaśvas, since two out of the three *ṛṣis* in the pravaras coincide.

The Saṃkṛtis, since they are *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*, are said to have no intermarriage either with those mentioned in the Vasiṣṭha gaṇa or with those mentioned in their own gaṇa.

Now we shall tell of the marriage of the Haritas. The Haritas and the Kutsas have no intermarriage one with another, since two out of the three pravara-*ṛṣis* are the same, and because in the text of [Āpastamba and] Āśvalāyana identity of pravara is taught, in the list 'Harita, Kutsa, Pinga, Śankha, etc.' The others, Kaṇvas, Rathītaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, do have marriage one with another, as well as with the families already mentioned, and with the Atris and the rest[4] which are to be mentioned in the sequel.

[1] Where?
[2] Read *-kapyādīnām*; Ed. *-kaṇvādīnām*(!); P1 *kavyādīnām*; S *-jalṇānām*.
[3] So P1; Ed. makes nonsense of the passage by giving Bṛhaduktha twice in place of Pṛsadaśva, and by reading *ekapravara* instead of *pṛthakpravara*. The argument is of course in any case unsound, since as we have seen the Matsya text is corrupt in this place. It shows, however, that the M text was corrupt at an early date.
[4] For *atryādibhiḥ*, Ed. has *atryābhiḥ*.





## CHAPTER IV

## THE ATRIS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

WE shall explain the Atris:

1. Atrayo
2. Bhūrayaś
3. Chāndiś
4. Chāndogiḥ
5. Pauṣṭikā
6. Māngalayaḥ
7. Śaivāś
8. Chagalāś
9. Chāgalās
10. Tṛṇabindur
11. Bhāgantayo
12. Mālaruco
13. Vyālayaḥ
14. Śāmbavyāyanāḥ
15. Kārmaryāyaṇayo
16. Dākṣis
17. Taidehā
18. Gāṇapatya
19. Auddālakir
20. Droṇabhāvā
21. Gauragrīvayo
22. Gāviṣṭhirāḥ
23. Śiśupālāḥ
24. Kṛṣṇātreyā
25. Gaurātreyā
26. Aruṇātreyā
27. Nīlātreyāḥ
28. Śvetātreyāḥ
29. Śyāmātreyā
30. Mahātreyā
31. dattātreyā
32. Hāleyā
33. Vāleyāḥ
34. Śaubhreyā
35. Vāmarathino

2 So A, except for D1, D2, which have bhūmiḥ; M bhūyayac; G bhūyaś; T bhūpayaḥ; Bu bhūyaḥyac; P1 omits nos. 2 and 3.
3 So M, G, D1; Be, U, D2 chandiḥ; P2, Bu chādiḥ; Sk chāndayāḥ; Ed. sthāndi; T, R, P1 omit.
4 So Be, U, T, P2, D2; D1 chandogiḥ; P1 chāndādi; Sk, R chāndogeyāḥ; M, G, Bu chāndobhiḥ; Ed. sthāndogi.
5 So Bu, P1, Ed., D; G, R pauṣpikā; Sk paupikā; P2 prauṭikā; Be, U pauṭhikā; T, M pauṣyakā.
6 So B; Be, U maudga-; P1, D1 māhu-; P2 mauhu-; Sk mauha-; R mauma-; D2 mautaliḥ. Cf. perhaps the Sumangalas of Āp.
7 So B, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 112; Be, U śepā; Ed., P1 saipā; P2 sepā; D sopā; Sk sauvā; R sauṣā.
8, 9 M, G, T chagala- only; Bu chāgavaḥ only; for no. 8, P2, D, R charālaḥ; P1 chārālā; Sk lagalāś; Be, U charāgāś; Ed. sthaprālāś; for no. 9, A chāgalāḥ; Be, U chagalāḥ; cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 117.
10 Be, U plural (so Caland); P1 omits nos. 10–19.
11 Read bhāgalayo? cf. Mān.; B, D1 bhāgantayo; Ed. bhāgaṃpatho; P2 bhārgatayo; R bhārgavatayo; Sk bhārgatapaḥ.
12 So A (D1 gāla-, D2 maluṛcaḥ); M, G, T, Caland mālakujo; Bu māḷaḥkūjāḥ.
13 So A (Ed. vyāḷayaḥ); B vyāḷalaḥ (?); Caland vyāḍalaḥ.
14 So T; M -yanayaḥ; G -vyānayaḥ; Bu śāmbaryāyanāḥ; Sk sāṃcavy-; Ed. sāṃcavyānayo; D1 sañcavyāniḥ; D2 saṃjanyāniḥ; P2 sāvacyāyano; Be, U sāvacyāḥ.
15 Cf. the other lists; Pāṇ. 4. 1. 155 implies kārmār- (so Mahābh.); D1 kārṣṇāyaniḥ; others various, but implying kārmaryāyaṇi; all except T, Bu with dental n.
16 Sk dākṣāyas.
17 Sk Taidahā; D1 Vaidehaḥ; R Taidedā; P2 Sraidāhā.
18 So G; Be, U, P2 gaṇa-; M, T gāṇis-; D gādhi-; R gāthipattaya-; Bu gāṇiḥ svatayaḥ; Sk māyitathāḥ.
20 So M, G, Bu, Ed., P1, R, Sk; P2 droṇi-; D1 droṇanābhaḥ; D2 droṇabhāvoṣī-.
21 So D1 only; D2 ragaugrīviḥ; B and the others, gauri-; for gaura-, cf. gaṇa 199. 4, Pāṇ. 4. 3. 131.
22 So B, P, Ed.; D1 kāviṣṭiraḥ: Sk māviriṇaḥ; R māvichirāḥ.
26 So B, D, P1; Ed. raktātreyāḥ; P2 trakṣātreyā; Sk, R ṛkṣātreyāḥ.
31 So D only (from conflation); rest of A omit; B ātreyā only.
32–5, 38, 39 Cf. KŚS 10. 2. 21.
32 So B (T halātreyaḥ); Sk, P1, D2, R gāl-; D1 gol-; P2 kāl-; Ed. gātreyā; cf. the other lists among the Putrikāputras.
33 So G, Bu, D, Sk, R; T ileyāḥ; Be, U, P1 vauleyāḥ (bau-); P2, Ed. vaileyāḥ.
34 So B (Bu śautreyāḥ); D saugeyaḥ; P2 sautreyāḥ; P1 tyaugeya; R śaubhyeya; cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 123 (with anuvṛtti of *Atri* from 4. 1. 117).
35 So Be, U; P -thīnāṃ; G, Ed. -thīnā; M, T -thinā; Bu vāmaḥ rathītara; D, Sk, R vāmarathya; the last is the form of the other lists, and is supported by gaṇa 58. 12, Pāṇ. 4. 1. 151.

36. Vaitabhāvayaḥ
37. Śaudreyāḥ
38. Kaudreyā
39. Gopavanāḥ
40. Kālāpacaya
41. Ānīlāyanā
42. Ānangir
43. Mānangir
44. Daurangiḥ
45. Saurangiḥ
46. Saupuṣpayaḥ
47. Śānkheyāḥ
48. Sāketāyanā
49. Bhāradvājāyanā
50. Indrātithir

These are Atris; they have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva' for the Hotṛ, 'like Śyāvāśva, Arcanānasa, Atri' for the Adhvaryu.

The Vādbhutakas[1] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Vādbhutaka' for the Hotṛ, etc.

The Gaviṣṭhiras have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gāviṣṭhira', etc.

1. Mudgalā
2. Vyālisandhayaś ca
3. Aurṇavāpayo
4. Baudhākṣā
5. Gaviṣṭhirā
6. Baijavāpāḥ
7. Śirīṣayaḥ
8. Śālimato
9. Vrīhimato
10. Gaurivītir
11. Gaurikayo
12. Vājavatā
13. Vāyupūṭā

36 So M, G, Bu, D; T, Be, U, Ed. -bhāva; Sk śvetabhāvāḥ; R śvaitabhāvaḥ.
38 Ed. kauṇḍeyā.
39 Cf. Pāṇ. 2. 4. 67; D -vanyaḥ.
40 B kālāvayaḥ; Bu kālāśayāḥ; A kālāpacaya; D kālāyasiḥ; others -yavaya, etc.
41 So A (Ed., P anīl-); D, R nīl-; B ānīṣāyaṇāḥ.
42 D 1, P 2 āngi only; Bu, G mārangi.
43 P 2 manaṃnimgi.
44 D 1 daurāngi; G, Ed. gaurangi; S draurangi; T dor-; Bu, M śaur-.
45 So B; R sauragayaḥ; others, two names, P saurangi gaurangi; Ed. ṣyorangi saurangi; D 1 sauragiḥ gauragiḥ.
46 So R only; A, B puṣpayaḥ; D puṣpiḥ saupuṣpiḥ; Be, U puṣpāyanaḥ; cf. the other lists.
47 Conjecture; (cf. the other lists); M, Caland śaikhayaḥ; G, Bu śekhayaḥ; T śākhayaḥ; S śaukhayaḥ; P 1 saivyayah; P 2 śaiṣyayaḥ; Ed. saiṣpayaḥ; D, R, Sk omit.
48 So B, P 1, Ed., D 1, R; P 2 ketāyanā; D 2 sākenamāno. Sk omits nos. 42–8.
49 So Bu, A with unimportant variations; B -jāyanaya; cf. gaṇa 15. 62, bharadvāja ātreye Pāṇ. 4. 1. 110.
50 D 1 candrātithiḥ indrātithiḥ; D 2 indrāvidhir.

1 Bu mangalā; P 1 mudralā.
2 G, Sk, Caland śāli-; D, R vyāli-; P 1 vyāptisaṃyi; M, T vyāḷā-; cf. the Vyālis of the other lists.
3 Restored; A arṇavā (Caland wrongly reports Sk and Pn—our R—as reading aurṇanābhayo, which he adopts; both have arṇava); M, T caurṇavā; Bu caurṇapāḥ; G cārṇavā; cf. Mān. aurṇavāpi, W śarṇacāpili.
4 So A; B bodhavāñjiki (Bu -vācikiḥ, S -vājakiḥ).
5 Only in P, Ed., D; possibly interpolated from the other lists, since the family here called Mudgalas clearly corresponds to the Gaviṣṭhiras of the others.
6 Restored, cf. the other lists; Caland, Be, U, Ed., P, Sk vaitavāhāḥ; B vaitabhāvayaḥ; D vaitabhāvaḥ; S vaitatava; R bautavādāḥ.
7 So A, cf. Mān.; Bu śirṣayaḥ; M, G śeṣayaḥ; T śoṣayaḥ; S śleṣayaḥ.
8 P, Ed. -mano.
9 So M, G, Bu; D 2 vrīhitamo; rest omits.
10 Cf. RV 5. 29. 11, an Atri-hymn; Be, U, D gaurivīto; Caland (after M, G?) gaurīṣito (with this cf. perhaps the regular spelling of the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, gaurīvita); R, Sk, P 2 gauritāḥ; Ed. gauritrau; P 1 gauritayo.
11 So B; Ed., P, D, R gaura-; Sk gaurikāye.
12 So Sk, R; Be, U, P 1 vāyavanā; M, G bābāyanā; T vāpāyanā; Bu bāhvāyanā; P 2 vāyananā; D 1 vāyavānaḥ; D 2 vānāyanāḥ; cf. gaṇa 103. 26, Pāṇ. 4. 1. 154.
13 So M, G, T; Bu -cūḍāḥ; D -pūtiḥ; rest omit.

[1] Ed. *vāgbhū-*; P 1 *cāhu-*; P 2 *vātadbhu-*; R *ṣāḍū-, vāddhū-*; etc.





These are Mudgalas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātitha', etc.

There is no intermarriage among any of the Atris.

## B. *Āpastamba*

Of the Atris, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva', etc.

Of the Gaviṣṭhiras, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gāviṣṭhira', etc.

Of the Atithis, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Ātitha', etc.

This pravara belongs without alteration to the Vāmarathyas, Sumangalas, and Baijavāpas.

## C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kārmaryāyaṇi- | 1. Kārmaryāyaṇi- | 1. Kārmaryāyaṇi- |
| 2. Śānkheyā | 2. Śākhayaṣ | 2. †saṃkilayaṃś |
| 3. atho Śākharathāś ca ye | 3. †ṭyāye śākhārhayoś ca ye | 3. †cādyo śakhārathayaś [ca ye |
| 4. Āryāyaṇā | | 4. Āghrāyaṇā |
| 5. Vāmarathyā | | 5. Vāmarathyā |
| 6. Gopavanās | | 6. Gopavanās |
| 7. Tārṇabindavaḥ | (Omits nos. 4–10) | 7. Tārṇabindavaḥ |
| 8. Auddālakiḥ | | 8. Auddālakiḥ |
| 9. Śaunakarṇir | | 9. Śaunakarṇy- |
| 10. atho Sauśrutayaś ca ye | | 10. †atho vālūtapayaś ca ye |
| 11. Gauragrīviḥ | 11. Gauragrīviḥ | 11. Gauragrīviḥ |
| 12. Kairañjiś ca | 12. Kairandiś ca | 12. Kairandiś ca |
| 13. atho Caitrāyaṇāś ca ye | 13. atho Caitrāyaṇāś ca ye | 13. atho Caitrāyaṇāś ca ye |

2 and 3, conjectured, but completely doubtful. śākhalayaś cārṣasāharayaśca ye—Ed.; P 1 sāmataḥ śāvarayaḥ ścārṣesāhacarye; P 2 śankharayaścārṣesrāhareyeśva ye; D śāṃkhariḥ auṣasaḥ (D 2 arṣaso) haryaśvaḥ (D 2 -śviḥ); Sk śāṃkharayaḥ only; R śāṃkharatha only; p therefore probably read śānkharayaś cārṣa sāharayaś ca ye; cādyo of Mān., corresponding to cārṣa here, may conceal a third name.
4 Conj.; p āhāyana (R ādā-).
5 So P, Ed.; rest omit.
6 So P 1, D, other lists; Ed. payanāś; P 2 pacanā; R yavanā; Sk pavanā.
7 Restored from other lists; p śākir vidikir (P 1 -viditki; D 1 -vidarkiḥ; D 2 -vidāphi; Sk sāḥkikidivayaḥ; R śāḥki-; Ed. -divikir).
8 So P 2; P 1 -liki; Ed. maudgalākiḥ; rest omit.
9 Sk śaunakakarṇayaḥ; P 2 śaunakaṇiḥ śailaskārṇir.
10 So Ed., Sk; P 1 śausutarāś; P 2 sauśṛṃtayaśva ye; D 1 saubhṛtiḥ; R sauśṛtayo.
11 P 2, Ed. kaura-; Sk saura-; P 1 kausrīni.
12 So P 1, Ed.; P 2 kau-; D 1, R kairaji.
13 Sk Mai-; rest Jai-; instead of -ṇāś ca ye, Ed. has -nā ye ca; this, with the vi- of no. 14, may be the origin of the additional name inserted here by the nibandhas (not Ed.), P 1 śvetavi, P 2 śvatata, R śvetakayo, D 1 svetakiḥ, Sk cekayaḥ.

*W*

1 kaumāryāṇi.
2 śāsvayaṣ.
11 mauraśrīvi.
12 kairandy.

*Mān.*

6 goyāvanās.
8 audvālakī.
11 goragrīvī.
12 kaurindaṣyo.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 14. vibāhutantra- | 14. †nakamyanti | 14. †nākarṣyayaṃti |
| 15. bāhumitrāś ca | 15. yaurakyaṃdyo | 15. paurimdy |
| 16. Jānuki- | 16. cākṣothavāś ca ye | 16. atho vatsātthapāś ca ye |
| 17. Taileya- | 17. śāgali† | 17. gali† |
| 18. Vaileya- | 18. Chāgali | 18. Chāgali |
| 19. Ātreya- | 19. Bhāgali | 19. Bhāgali |
| 20. †pataṃjanānām | 20. †thānuci | 20. ... |
| 21. Bhāgamādāyana- | 21. vāhuvi | 21. †vāhu |
| 22. Saupuṣpayaś | 22. dantīndrāya | 22. dantyendreya |
| 23. Chāndogir | 23. daulātreya | 23. dautthāyātreyaḥ |
| | 24. saudhotaki | 24. sauddhūtakī |
| | 25. Vaikhānasi | 25. varṣānaki |
| | 26. kṛṣṇa† | 26. kṛṣṇa† |
| | 27. Chandogi | 27. Chandogi |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Dākṣir | 1. Plākṣir | 1. Plākṣir |
| 2. Vyāliḥ | 1*a*. Dākṣi | 1*a*. Dākṣi |
| 3. pārṇaviś ca | 2. Vyāliḥ | 2. Vyāliḥ |
| 4. Bhālandanā | 3. pārṣṇuviś ⟨ca⟩ | 3. paurṇavir |
| 5. Aurṇavāpi- | 5. Aurṇavāpi | 5. Aurṇavāpi- |
| 6. Śilaṃdharo | 6. śilaṃdhiro | 6. śilaṃvino |
| 7. Baijavāpiḥ | 7. Baijavāpi | 9. Mauñjakeśī |
| 8. Śirīṣaś ca | 8. Śirīṣaś ca | 4. Bhalandano |
| 9. Mauñjakeśī | 9. Mauñjakeśī | 7. Baijavāpi |
| 10. Gaviṣṭhirā | 4. Bhalandano | 8. Śirīṣaś ca |

14 So Ed.; P1, Sk, D1 bāhu-; P2 vidvāhutaṃ; R vādgataṃtrā.
15 So D1; P1, Sk R vāha-; Ed. vāhā mitraśva; P2 vivāhamitraś ca.
16 So P, D1, R; Ed. jānaki; Sk jānukayāḥ.
17, 18 These are possibly the Putrikāputras, and should perhaps, therefore, be written Hāleya, Vāleya, cf. Baudh., etc.; but the manuscripts indicate Taileya, Vaileya (and cf. Matsya); Ed. tau-, vau-; P1 the-, vau-; P2 rau-, vau-; D1 tau-, vai-; D2 tai-, e-; R and Sk omit.
20 Read perhaps patañjala?; P1, Sk, Ed. as above; P2 nañjananā; R panaṃjanā; D1 pañcajanaḥ; D2 paṃnaṃjanaḥ.
21 Cf. perhaps Bhāradvājāyana in Baudh.; all here bhāga-; P1 mādṛṇa; Ed., P2 -mādayana; D2, Sk -mādanăḥ; D1 -mānaḥ; R -mānāde.
22, 23 Ed., P only.

1 Ed. dakṣa-; P, D2 dakṣi; D1 lākṣiḥ.
2 So P, Ed., D2; D1 vyāṇiḥ.
3 Hopelessly corrupt in the whole group, and supplied here, very dubiously, from the other lists, *q.v.*; P kharārṇakṛd; Ed. khadārṇakṛd; D2 avarorṇakṛd; D1 avarodhakṛd.

4 So D2, and cf. Mān. and Matsya; D1 nāl-; R bhal-; P bhālaṃvanā (P1 -vaṇa); Ed. bhālavanā.
5 Cf. Mān., W; D, R aurṇanābhi; P1 aurṇanāśi; P2 ārṇanābhi; Ed. arṇanābhi.
6 Corrupt in the whole group; cf. Mān., W, Matsya; Ed., P1, D1 vaiveya; D2 caiveya; P2 vaṃvea; R candratre-.
7 So Ed., P, D2 (vaij-); D1 baijavāpanaḥ; R yājavāpayo.
8 Restored from the other lists; Ed. śrimi; P1, D sṛpiḥ; P2 śṛngiś ca. D inverts the order of nos. 8 and 9.
9 Ed., P -keśo; D1 -kāśiḥ; D2 maujakeśiḥ; P1 mauja-; P2 moja-; R maukeśaḥ.

*W*

1 kakṣir.
1*a* daṃkṣi.
5 (-vi) śārṇacāpili.
9 moj-.
8 śīrṣaś ca.
4 kalaṃdano.

*Mān.*

1*a* dārdi.
9 mauj-.
8 śirīṣasya.





| *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| 10. | 10. ... |
| 11. maitrāyaṇyo | 11. maiyaṇyo |
| 12. dhṛtiḥ | 12. dūtiḥ |
| 13. Saupuṣpi- | 13. Saupuṣpiḥ |
| 14. Sāmapuṣpi- | 14. Sāmapuṣpiḥ |
| | (14*a*. somapuṣpiḥ) |
| 15. Brahmapuṣpi- | |
| 16. Vyāghrapuṣpi- | |
| 17. Hiraṇyapuṣpi- | 17. Hiraṇyapuṣpiś |
| 18. candrakāṭuki- | 18. cadrikardraki |
| 19. Kākaśīrṣi- | 19. Kākaśirṣi |
| 20. kālaśivir ity eteṣām... | 20. kākālaśity eteṣām... |

These ten are Gaviṣṭhiras. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Gāviṣṭhira, Paurvātitha', etc.

We shall explain the Putrikāputras (sons of a daughter designated by the father as a son for purposes of descent):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Hāleya- | 1. Hāleya- | 1. Hāleyā |
| 2. Vāleya- | 2. Vāleya- | 2. Vāleyā |
| 3. Kaudreya- | 3. Kaudreya- | 3. daubheyā |
| 4. Vāmarathya- | 4. Śaubhreya- | 4. Śaubhreyā |
| 5. Putrikā | 5. Vāmarathya- | 5. kaubhreyā |
| | 6. Gaupavana- | 6. Vāmarathya- |
| | 7. Putrikā | 7. Gopavana- |
| | (Pravara as K. & L.) | 8. viṣṭira (=gaviṣṭhira?) |
| | | 9. putrikāputrā |
| | | (Pravara: ātr. gāviṣṭhira pautriketi.) |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Ātreya, Vāmarathya, Pautrika', etc.

## D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Atris, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva'.
Of the Gaviṣṭhiras, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gāviṣṭhira'.
Of the Pūrvātithis, 'Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātitha'.[1]

1 So P, D, R; Sk dāl-; Ed. had-.
2 So P2, D, R; Ed. vāveya; P1 vavāleya.
3 So P1, Sk; D2 kaudrayo; D1 kereya; Ed. kauṇeya; R kauremāḥ; P2 kauleya. R and Sk add Śaubhreya and Gopavana to the Putrikāputras.

*Mān.*

1 hāḷoyā.
2 valeyā.

[1] So P for Āśvalāyana. Ed. has: *atrīṇām ātreyārcanānasa gāviṣṭhireti*; *pūrvātithīnām ātreyārcanānasa paurvātitheti*. The *BiblInd* edition and Chentsal Rao in his separate printing of Āśvalāyana have: *atrīṇām ātreyārcanānasa śyāvāśveti*; *gaviṣṭhirāṇām ātreya gāviṣṭhira paurvātitheti*. Nārāyaṇa's commentary also recognises only two divisions: *atra dvividhā atraya uktāḥ*; *anyatrānye ca santi*. The Berlin manuscripts agree with *BiblInd*.

### E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

The fish said: learn from me the founders of gotras who have sprung from the family of Atri:

1. Kārmaryāyaṇi-
2. Śānkheyāś
3. tathā Śārāyaṇāś ca ye
4. Ārghapanthā
5. Vāmarathyo
6. Gopavanās
7. Tṛṇabindavaḥ
8. Auddālakiḥ
9. Śaunakarṇir
10. atho Sauktavarāś ca ye
11. Gauragrīvis ca
12. Kairañjir
13. atho Caitrāyaṇāś ca ye
14.–16. Kānajihva‿ ‿udgaragrīvir baiḍāliḥ śākalāyaniḥ
17. Taileyaś ca
18. sa-Vaileya
19. Atrir
20. Gāṇapatis tathā
21. jalado
22. bhagapādaś ca
23. Saupuṣpiś ca mahātapāḥ
24. Chāndogeyas

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Śyāvāśva, and Atri, and Ārcanānasa. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Dākṣir
2. Vyāliḥ
3. Pārṇaviś ca
4. Bhalandanaḥ
5. Aurṇavāpiḥ
6. Śilārdaniḥ
7. Baijavāpiḥ
8. Śirīṣaś ca
9. Mauñjakeśī

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Atri, and Gaviṣṭhira, and Pūrvātithi. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

---

1 So p, with minor variants; (also with dental n); M kardamāyana-.
2 p sāṃkhyeyās (D2 sāṃkheyah); M śākheyas.
3 So M; p sā- (D1 sārāpagaḥ, R sārāgra-ṇāḥ).
8 So P; Ed. uddālakaḥ; M uddālakiḥ.
9 M1 śoṇa-; M2 śauṇa-.
10 So P, R, D2; D1 sautka-; Ed. sauta-; Sk sauktacarāḥ; M athaū (*sic*) saukratavaś ca ye.
11 M -grīva.
12 M gaurajinas.
13 So M; p jai-.
4 Probably the reading of m; Ed. ārghapathā; P1, D āryapatha; P2 athapanthā; Sk ārya-mathāḥ; R arghayaṃthā; M1 arddhapaṇyā; M2 arghapaṇyā.
6 This is almost certainly to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which the Matsya Purāṇa took the lists was also in metre, and certainly had Gopavanās); Ed., P, Kṛṣ gauryanya; R, Sk, D2 gaupānya; D1 gaurvanyaḥ; M gopanās.
7 So p; M taki-.
14–16 The four names here, corresponding to the equally corrupt nos. 14–16 in the K. & L. list, remain quite hopeless. The above is probably the reading of m. p kānajihvo; Sk kala-; M1 kaṇa-; M2 karṇa; P2, D1, R, Sk -hvo(')dgaragrīvi; D2 udaragrīvaḥ; P1 nūra-grīviḥ; Ed. hy urugrīvir; M harapritir; Kṛṣ kurugrīva; p vaiḍāli; P1 vaiḍāki; M1 naidrāṇiḥ; M2 laidrāṇiḥ; M śākalāyaniḥ; D2, R, Sk śākalāyanaḥ; P1 sākalāyanaḥ; P2 śalakāyaniḥ; D1 śākaṭāyanaḥ; Ed. śakalāyaniḥ.
17 So P2; P1 tailayasaca; Ed., M tailapaś ca; Kṛṣ tailava.
18 So M, Ed.; P1 cai-; P2 tai-.
20 Conj., cf. Baudh.; m goṇipatis (Ed. -patas; R, P1 goṇīyatha; D1 gauṇipathaḥ; Sk gauṇī-pathāḥ; M goṇīpatis).
21 So M, D2, P2, R; D1 jagaladaḥ; Sk baladāḥ; Ed. pralagaḥ.
22 So M, D2, P2, R; also Ed.; D1 bhāgaliḥ; P1 bhagavapada; Sk bhāgapādāḥ.
23 So M, P; Ed. saupuṣṭiś ca.
24 So P; Ed., M chānd-.
P omits the Gaviṣṭhiras here, and the nibandhas do not give a separate account for the Matsya Purāṇa (except that D attributes to the Matsya a quite different list from the one given here).
2 Restored from the other lists; Ed., M baliḥ.
3 Ed. parṇaliś ca; M parṇaviś ca.
5 m ūrṇanābhi; cf. the other lists.
7 Ed., M, bījavāpi.
9 m mauñjakeśo.





Next learn from me the Putrikā-putras of Atri:

1. Hāleyaś ca
2. sa-Vāleyo
3. Vāmarathyas tathaiva ca
4. Śaubhreyaś caiva
5. Kaudreyas

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Atri, and Vāmarathya and Pautrika. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The founders of gotras of the family of Atri, of great might, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

There is no intermarriage of these Atri-gotra-gaṇas, because of the identity of gotra resulting from the fact that the name of Atri, who is one of the seven *ṛṣis*, occurs in all the pravaras, and also because two of the three *ṛṣis* in the pravaras coincide. The Putrikā-putras avoid both gotras in marriage, and *a fortiori* their own gaṇa, because of identity of pravara.

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1 M, P, Ed. kāleya. M gives all these in the plural, p in the singular.
3 Ed. vāmaraśva.
4 and 5 restored from the other lists; Ed. saitreyaś caiva saudheyas; P1 saugeyaś cau sautreyaḥ; P2 sautreyaś caiva śaubhroya; M dhātreyāś caiva maitreyās.
In the pravara, P alone reads pautrikaś ca mahān ṛṣiḥ; M and Ed. agree in the improbable form pautriś caiva.

## Chapter V

# THE VIŚVĀMITRAS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

We shall explain the Viśvāmitras:

1. Kuśikāḥ
2. Pārṇajanghāḥ
3. Vārakyā
4. Audalir
5. Māṇir
6. Bṛhadagnir
7. Ālakir
8. Āghaṭṭir
9. Āpadyapā
10. (Antakā)
11. Kāmantakā
12. Bāṣkalayaś
13. Cikitā
14. Lāmakāyanāḥ
15. Śālankāyanāḥ
16. Śānkāyanā
17. Laukā
18. Gaurāḥ
19. Saugantayo
20. Yamadūtā
21. Ānabhimlānās
22. Tārakāyaṇās
23. Cauḍakā
23*a*. †cauṭumbalā
24. Jābālayo
25. Yajñavalkā
25*a*. †padajālā (vāda-)
25*b*. †jahacalokāḥ
25*c*. †hāleyo yājñavalkyā
26. Vataṇḍa

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1 After this, D2 adds ku/śekāyaṇa.
2 D2 jangha only; Sk pārṇatajaghāḥ; S pāriṇa-jangha.
3 So A, except Ed.; Bu, Ed. pārakyāḥ; M, G, T pāralukyā; S vālukyā; cf. Āpast. vāraki.
4 So A, cf. udala in the pravara; Caland, following B, audari; he compares 'odari' of Kāty., but the name there is actually pāryo-dari.
6 So A, Bu, cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; M, G, T -arci; P2 -agvir; R -agraya.
7 Conj., cf. Āpast.; the manuscript readings, however, suggest ālarvi for A, ānarci- for B; Ed., P1 ālarvi; P2, D, Sk, Be, U ālavi; R āluvaya; G ānanarci; S ānarcir; Bu ālpa-carāḥ; M, T omit.
8 Completely doubtful; P, R āghahi; D1 rāghahiḥ; Ed. ādhyahir; S āghaṭhṭhir; G, T āghaṭṭiḥ; Bu ghaṭṭatiḥ; M āghatati; Be, U ādyahi.
9 Also doubtful; so M, G; T āpaddayā; Bu āpadyavaḥ; Be, U āpadyavyā; D1 āpag-havya; D2 āṣṭudhṛvya; Ed. āpadyaiyya; R, Sk, P2 -pya.
10 M, G, T only, dittography from following (so Caland).
11 So A, Bu; M, G, T kāmantayo.
12 Conj.; M, G, Bu bāṣpakayaś; T pāṣpaya; A baddhakatha; the Harivaṃśa names the Bāṣkalas, with the Śalankāyanas (cf. no. 15) and the Sauśravas (cf. no. 28) as Kauśikas (Har. 1. 1771).
13 D1 cintitaḥ.
14 So Be, U, D1; cf. gaṇa 125. 9; Ed. lābh-; Sk, D2 kām-; M, G lamahāyanāḥ; P2 lamāla-kāyanāḥ; T lamagāyanaḥ, etc.
15 So Ed., P, R, Sk, D1, S; cf. gaṇa 125. 10; Bu sā-; Be, U sālankavāyana; M, G, T omit.
16 So Be, U; Ed. sānk-; P1 śaṃkāyenā; P2 syāṃkāyana; M, G, T sāṃke(ko)tāyanā; Bu sāhāyanāḥ; Sk kātyāyana.
19 So Ed., Caland; D2, R, Sk -vya; P1 -dya; D1 saugatayaḥ; P2 sauganadhyā; M, G, Bu sāgantayo; T syāṃgatayo; S sāṃgatāyana (misplaced before no. 15); Be, U saugantā-yana.
21 Cf. gaṇa 228. 10 (where Kāś. has -glāna); Be, U, Caland -mlāta; M anabhimrāta; S ānatrimlāta; G anabhimṛtā abhinimrutā; T abhinamṛmātā; Bu ayanidratāḥ ūnabhi-dritāḥ; Ed., Sk, D1, P2 ānabhinna; P1 atrabhinna; R ānabhitrās.
22 So A, G; M tārāyaṇā.
23 Conj.; Ed., P, Sk, Caland cauvala; Be, U cailakā; S śvaubala; D1 śvovalaḥ; D2, R śvauvala; M, G, T cauḷakā; Bu cauḷakāyanaḥ; D2 adds caulakāyana, D1 vālakāyana; Caland wrongly reports that the nibandhas read cailakā.
23*a* So M, G, T; Bu vemabalāḥ; rest omit; probably originally dittography of no. 23.
24 So A, cf. the other lists; M, G, Bu jālālayo; T layo.
25 So B; A yājñavalkyā.
25*a–c* appear in M, G, T only.
26 Restored from other lists; Be, U, P2, Caland vidaṇḍā; P1 vidaṇḍā; Sk, R, D2 vitaṇḍa; S vitaṇḍya; Ed. vidaḍa; M, G abdaṇḍā; T ambakṛṃḍa.





27. Bhauvanayaḥ
28. Sauśrutaya
29. Aupagahanaya
30. Audumbarir
31. Bhrāṣṭrakayaḥ
32. Śyāmeyāś
33. Caitreyāḥ
34. Śālāvatā
35. Mayūrāḥ
36. Saumatyāś
37. Citratantavaḥ
38. Śvetatantavo
39. Manutantavo
40. Māntavo
41. ye cānye 'ntuśabdā
42. Bābhravyāḥ
43. Kāpileyā
44. †unmaraśṛkaya iti

These are Kuśikas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala', etc.

1. Lohitāḥ
2. Dāṇḍakaya
3. Cākravarmāyaṇā
4. †jharjhāyana
5. Vāñjāyanā
6. †mādāghayaḥ
7. Kaitavāyanayo
8. Vāśaya iti

These are Lohitas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka, Lauhita', etc.

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27 So M, T; S bhuvanayaḥ; G bhauvanaḥ; D1 bhovaniḥ; D2 bhauvaviḥ; Sk, R nuvalayaḥ; P1 tṛvalaya; P2 tuvalayaḥ.
28 So Be, U, D1, cf. the other lists; Sk -yāḥ; R saubhṛtayaḥ; P1 sausutayā; P2 sauśṛtaya; D2 sausuniḥ; M, G, Caland saubabhravaya; T saubarbhavaya; S sauśrayaḥ.
29 Cf. the other lists; Caland (and B?), D, Ed. aupadahanaya; Sk oyagahatayaḥ; R aupaganana; P1 sau aupadahanye.
30 So B, D2, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 173; A (ex. D) udaṃpari; D1 urdariḥ.
31 Conj.; Be, U bhrāṣṭayogyāḥ; P1, Sk, R bhāṣṭagya; P1 bhājyagāḥ; D1 bhāṣṭakiḥ; Bu bhrāṣṭaya; S bhrāṣṭreya; M, G, T, Caland bhāriṣṭikaya.
34 So B, cf. Āpast.; Ed. tālāvatā; Be, U tālavanto; R, P1 tālovatā; P2 tālovantāṃ; Sk tāloccatarāḥ; S sārāvatā.
36 Ed. saumitya; P1 saumyatyāś; D2 sau-mṛtyaḥ; S sāmartyāś.
37 Caland's conj.; the archetype's reading was citraṃtavayaḥ; Ed. śvivantavayas; P, Sk, Be, U citratavayaḥ; D citrantaviḥ; M, G citrantayo; T śvitraṃtayo; Bu citatañcayaḥ; S citraṃtā-yanāś.
38 Conj.; archetype, śvetaṃtāyanāḥ?; Ed. syetantāyanāḥ; P1 sayaṃtatāyanāḥ; P2 sātaṃ-tāyanāḥ; Sk syātatāyanāḥ; R syātantāyanāḥ; D1 śvetyantāyanaḥ; D2 śyetaṃtāyanaḥ; Be, U sataṃtāyanā; G śvetantayo; M, T, Bu, Caland omit.
39 Caland's conj., certainly correct, cf. the other lists and Mānutantavya, Ait. Brāh. 5. 30; the text of the Gaṇa-pāṭha (gaṇa *gargādi*) wrongly gives two names, manu, tantu; B manutapo(-yo), S -jayo; Be, U abhūtataṃ-tavo; P1 tryanūtatakyā; P2 bhyabhūtaṃnavo; Ed. anūtatantavo; D1 anūtakiḥ; D2 mana-taṃtiḥ; Sk mānavaḥ tatavaḥ; R manavas tantavo.
40 So Be, U, Sk, D1, R, P1; P2 māntatavo; D2 māṃbataḥ; Ed. omits; M, G, T māntapo.
41 I.e. whose names end in -antu; Caland's conj. -tantu is awkward with the name Māntu interposing, and does not satisfy the manu-script readings so well; M -nduśabdā; G -ntaśabdā, S -antaśabdā; T ya cānye ṭuśabdā; Bu -indraśabdāḥ; Be, U, Sk yakṣanyatvaśabdā; P1 yakṣyāṃtyetyaśavdā; D1 ye cānye manu-śabdāntāḥ; D2 ye cānye nughadvītaḥ; Ed. ye cānye vaśabdā.
42 Cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 106 (Bābhravya is the patronymic from Babhru where a Kauśika is meant, Bābhrava otherwise; Ait. Brāh. 7. 17, however, has Bābhrava for a Viśvāmitra, but in a dvandva).
43 Conj. from Ait. Brāh. loc. cit.—kāpileya-bābhravāḥ as the descendants of Devarāta Vaiśvāmitra; A kālāyā; M, G kālāvā; T khālāvā; Bu kakālāhvā.
44 So G; M -śṛtaya; T -śramaya; Bu guma-rayaḥ; S (-vān)murayaḥ; A utsaraya (P2 utsara).

1 D rohitaḥ.
2 So Caland; M, Be, U, R, P2 daṇḍakaya; P1 daṇḍayaś; D dāḍakiḥ; Sk kṛḍakayaḥ; M kuḍakyā; Bu tāṇḍakayaḥ; T daṇḍākayā; Ed., S raṇḍakayaś.
3 So M, S; G, Sk -varṇā-; P1 -varṇā-; P2 cākraraṇāyanā; R cakravaṇāyuna; D1 śvātra-varṇāyanaḥ; D2 (ś)vākravarṣāyanaḥ; T cārka-varmāyaṇā; Be, U cākrāyaṇā; Ed. cātravarṇā-yanā.
4 So M, and perhaps Bu; G jharjhāntardhā-yanā; T radharadhāyana; D1 karjūrāyanaḥ (with dental n); D2 karjarāyano; rest omit.
5 So Be, U; P, D1, Ed. vañj-; Bu vāj-; S vāv-; Sk tān-; R tañj-; M, G, T hajj-.
6 So M, G; T mādāyavyāḥ; rest omit.
7 So restored by Caland, cf. gaṇa *tikādi*; M kaitavānāyo; G kaitavānayo; T ketavāya-nāyo; rest omit.
8 So M, G, T; Bu vaṃśayaḥ; A vāsayaḥ (R vāsavo); R and D add aṣṭaka.

1. Vaiśvāmitra-
2. Devaśravasa-
3. Devatarasaḥ
4. Śraumata-Kāmakāyanāḥ
5. Kāmakāyaninas

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa', for the Hotṛ, 'like Devatarasa, Devaśravasa, Viśvāmitra' for the Adhvaryu.

1. Raukṣakāś
2. †caudūhalā
3. Raiṇavāś ca

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Raukṣaka, Raiṇava', for the Hotṛ, 'like Reṇu, Rukṣaka,[1] Viśvāmitra' for the Adhvaryu.

1. Katāḥ
2. Sairindhāḥ
3. Karabhā
4. Vājāyanāḥ
5. Sāṃhiteyāḥ
6. Kaukṛtyāḥ
7. Śaiśireyā
8. Audumbarāyaṇāḥ
9. Piṇḍagrīvā
10. Nārāyaṇā
11. Nārātyā iti

These are Katas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla', etc.

1. Dhanaṃjayāḥ
2. Kārīṣaya
3. Āśvāvatāyanāḥ
4. †tulabhyāḥ
5. Saindhavāyanā
6. Uṣṭrākṣā
7. Mahākṣā iti

These are Dhanaṃjayas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānaṃjaya', for the Hotṛ, 'like Dhanaṃjaya, Madhucchandas, Viśvāmitra', for the Adhvaryu.

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1–5 This group is placed after the Raukṣakas by p.
1 So p, D2; D1, B viśv-.
2 One would expect devaśravo, and in the Adhvaryu's pravara devaśravovat.
3 P1 daivatrasa-; D2 devatāsaḥ. Possibly nos. 1–3 should be taken as the name of a single family.
4 So T, D1, R, and cf. the other lists; Sk sromanāḥ; Ed. matijyoti; P omiti (*sic*); rest, śraumati; T, M, D1, Sk kāmakāyanaḥ; Bu kāmakāyaḥ; Be, U jāmakāyanāḥ; Ed., P, R jyāmakāyanāḥ; Sk jya-.
5 So B; Ed., P1 kāla-; Sk, D, P2, R kāmakāyanaḥ.

1 So G, Ed., P1, R, Sk; D1 raukṣaḥ; D2 raukakṣakaḥ; Be, U, M, T rokthakā; Bu rautsāḥ kā; S taukṣakās.
2 So possibly the archetype; G cauḍuhalā; M caudohaḷā; S caudruhalā; Be, U svodvahakā; Ed. sohahalā; P1 svodvuhalā; D1 sauddhahalaḥ; D2 spodvahanaḥ; R svodvahalā; Sk sodvahalāḥ; comparison with the other lists suggests -hayaḥ, and possibly we might conjecture ca‿audavāhayaḥ, cf. the name Audavāhi in ĀśvGrS 3. 4. 4, ŚāṅkhGrS 4. 10. 3.
3 Manuscripts indiscriminately raiṇava, raivaṇa. Also, in the Adhvaryu's pravara, Be, U only have reṇuvat, the others, raiṇavavat, revaṇavat, etc.

The Katas and Dhanaṃjayas are omitted by Be, U, and P; Sk and R have no trace of Baudhāyana's account. It is very probable, therefore, that p also had a lacuna here, and that Ed., whose text here agrees rather suspiciously closely with B, may have incorporated them from S. D also seems to have conflated them from its B-source, since it gives them in transposed order after the Indrakauśikas.
2 So B; D sairandhaḥ; Ed. sairidhrāḥ.
3 So B, Ed., D2; D1 karambhaḥ; Bu kārabhā.
4 So B, D1; D2 vāṃj-; Ed. yāj-.
5 D2 saṃ-; Ed. omits.
6 So B, Ed.; D1 kaukukyaḥ; D2 kaukutya; Ed. transposes nos. 6 and 7.
7 Ed. śiśirāḥ; D omits.
8 Ed. and D omit.
11 So G; Ed. rātyā only; M, Bu nārātyā; D1 nārādyaḥ; D2 nārāttha.

2 So B, D1; D2 kāpiḥ; Ed. kārivātayaḥ.
3 So Ed., cf. the other lists; G, T, D1 āśvavatāḥ; M, Bu āśvāvatāḥ; D2 āśvavaruḥ.
4 So M; Bu tā-labhyāḥ; T tāḥ tālavyāḥ; G -stā(sthā)gavyāstralabhyāḥ; Ed. kauravyās; D1 tārakyaḥ; D2 nārakyaḥ.
5 So B, D1; D2 saindhavāyavaḥ; Ed. saindhavāyanayaḥ.
6 So B, D2; D1 utsrākṣaḥ; Ed. puṣṭākṣā.
7 D1 mahokṣeti; D2 maheksiḥ iti.

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[1] Em. Caland; MSS. *raukṣakavat, raukthakavat, ukthivat.*





The Ajas[1] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Āja', etc.

The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kuśikas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika', etc.

The Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas[2] have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Pauraṇa', etc.

The Indrakauśikas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Aindra, Kauśika', for the Hotṛ, 'like Kuśika, Indra, Viśvāmitra', for the Adhvaryu.[3]

There is no intermarriage among any of the Viśvāmitras.[4]

## B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of the Viśvāmitras:

1. Devarāta-
2. Cikita-
3. Manutantv-
4. Ālaki-
5. Vāraki-
6. Yajñavalka-
7. Ulūka-
8. Bṛhadagni-
9. Babhru-
10. (Gālavi-)
11. Śālāvata-
12. Śālankāyana-
13. Kālabavāḥ

These have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala', etc.

The Śraumata-Kāmakāyanas[5] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa', 'like Devatarasa, Devaśravas-, Viśvāmitra'.

The Ājyas[6] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya', etc.

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3 P1 manutaṃmatv; D1 manuḥ tantuḥ; D2 mabhustanuḥ.
4 So Ed., and Garbe's manuscript 'P'; P1, R, Garbe aulaki; D aulokiḥ; P2 vailaki; Sk elakapa.
5 Cf. Baudh., no. 3. The exact reading is not certain, and possibly Vāluki should be read in both places; Ed., P rāraki; D1 cārakiḥ; D2 sarakiḥ; D adds also vālakhilya; Garbe vāluki; Chentsal Rao vāralakaya (so also in Kapardisvāmin's commentary); Garbe's manuscripts, bākila, vālaki, vālakhilya.
6 So Garbe, Chentsal Rao; and cf. Baudh.; others, yājñavalkyā.
7 Ed. auluka; D1 ulūta-; D2 uluvedā.

9 D1 bamruḥ; P1 vabhuḥ; Sk bābhravyāḥ.
10 So Garbe, corrected from the other lists; his manuscripts give śālavi, śālali; ChRao śālinī; others omit. It remains doubtful, however, and may well have arisen from the corruptions of the following names, *q.v.*
11 So Garbe, Ed., ChRao; P1 śanavisālaḥ; P2 śālapiśāla; R śāliśālāḥ; Sk, D1 śālāḥ viśālāḥ; D2 śālovisālaḥ; according to D, the Hiraṇyakeśi-sūtra also gives śālāvata.
12 P2 sā-; R, Sk, D omit.
13 So R, Garbe, cf. Āśv.; Ed. kālabhava; Sk kālavacāḥ; P1 kālaevās; P2 kālāvayavās; D1 kāvepāvaḥ; D2 kālāyava; ChRao kālabalāḥ.

---

[1] So Be, U (*ajānāṃ*); G, T *ājānajānāṃ*; M *ājānajanāṃ*; Bu *ājāyanāḥ*; Ed. *ājāyanānāṃ*; P2 *ajānānāṃ*; P1 *ajā mātdhachandahsa ity eteṣā(ṃ)*.

[2] B places these after the Indrakauśikas. Ed. *pauraṇāḥ*; P *paurāṇā*; Sk, R, D *vāridhāpayantās*; Be, U *pāridhapayantya*; P1 *vāridhāparyatas*; P2 *khyāridhāridhāpayantas*; G *pāridhāpayantava*; M *pāridhāvanta*; T *paridhāvanta.*

[3] One would expect a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'like Indrakauśika, Viśvāmitra'. The Nirṇaya-sindhu gives *vaiśvāmitraindrakauśiketi dvau.*

[4] In T only (which unfortunately omits the negative—*sarveṣāṃ vivāhaḥ*).

[5] Ed. calls these *śrotas-kāmakāyana.*

[6] p is defective here, giving the Katas next.

The Mādhucchandasas proper (*eva*) are Dhanaṃjayas: they have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānaṃjaya', etc.

The Aṣṭaka-Lohitas have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka', etc.

The Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas[1] have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Paurana', etc.

The Katas[2] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkila',[3] etc.

The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kuśikas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika', etc.

C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

We shall explain the Viśvāmitras:

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| | | [Nos. 1–13 are identical except for the following wrong readings:] |
| 1. Viśvāmitra- | | |
| 2. Devarātāś | | |
| 3. Caikita- | 3. caikata | 3. caigita |
| 4. Gālava- | | |
| 5. Vāratantavāḥ | 5. vantava-cāratamtatāḥ | 5. vāratataṃvā |
| 6. Kuśikā | | 6. kusikāṃ |
| 7. Vātaṇḍaś ca | 7*a*. (adds) pauvaleyā | 7. hvataḍaś ca |
| 8. Śalankā | 8. śālaṃkuvā āchā | 8. salakuvāco |
| 9. atha‿Āśvāvatāyanāḥ | 9. āśvāvātāyanāḥ | 9. āśvātāyanāḥ |
| 10. Śyāmāyanā | 10. śāmeyā | 10. śāmāyanā |
| 11. Yājñavalkyā | 11. (Omitted here, but added below.) | |
| 12. Jābālāḥ | | 12. jābālya- |
| 13. Saindhavāyanā | 13. (Omitted here, but added below.) | |
| | | No. 14–end given in full: |
| 14. Bābhravyāḥ | 14. vālvevyā | 14. vābhravya |
| 15. yaś ca Kārīṣiḥ | 15. yaś ca… | 15. yaśca vārṣīya- |
| 16. Sāṃkṛtyā | 16. saśityā | 16. sāsityā |

P, followed by R and Sk, omits nos. 1–10. For these we are therefore dependent on Ed. alone.

5 Ed. tāntakaiḥ; cf. the other lists; for vāratantava see Pāṇ. 4. 3. 102.

7 Ed. vartaṇḍaś ca; cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 108 (the patronymic is vātaṇḍya when an Āṅgirasa is meant, otherwise vātaṇḍa).

8 and 9 Conjecturally restored; Ed. Śalankuvādho āśvatāyanāś.

13 So P; Ed. sendhu-; Sk saṃdha-; R saidha-.

15 Ed. pyayaśra; S vyayaśca; P1 paśca; P2 yayaśca; kārīṣi, so Sk, Matsya, and (among the Dhanaṃjayas) Baudh.; Ed., P kārṣi; S kārṣṇi; R kārīrṣayaḥ.

16 Cf. W; S saṃ-; Sk, P saṃsṛtyā; R saṃṣṭatyā.

[1] So Garbe, after one of his manuscripts; the others read *pāridhāpayantyaḥ*; so also Rm.

[2] Ed. *kātyāyanānāṃ*; P1 *kātyāyanā*.

[3] Manuscripts indiscriminately *ākṣīla, ātkila*; so regularly with this name. P1, instead of the correct Adhvaryu's pravara here, gives *aṣṭakavad viśvāmitravad*; P2, after the Katas, inserts 'athāṣṭakā lohitās teṣāṃ *tryārṣeyaḥ* pravaro bhavati (note that Āpastamba does not normally use this phrase) vaiśvāmitra tkohitāṣṭaketi (*sic*), etc.'





| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 17. atha Sauśrutā | 17. arākanusṛttā | 17. apy asyai śrutā |
| 18. Aulūkyā | atho va- | |
| 19. Aupagahanayaḥ | ?15. puś ca kārṣi- | |
| 20. Pāryodarayaḥ | 13. sindhuyāyanāḥ | |
| 21. Pārṇayaḥ | ?16. sāṃkṛlyā | |
| 22. †kṣarayāḥ | Audheyāḥ (cf. Caraṇa- | audheprāḥ |
| 23. †pāṇḍali‿iti | saurapayaḥ [vyūha) | saurathāyaḥ |
| | kāṃjālipāṃjāya‿ | kājāliyājaya |
| | Ārjunākṣi- | Ārjunākṣi- |
| | 20. Pāryodari- | 20. pāryādari- |
| | | Sumantu- |
| | jaimany- | Jaimini- |
| | 18. ulokā | |
| | †khakhādvā | †khakhākhali iti |
| | tiṃghati† | |
| | 11. Yājnavalkya‿ | |
| | 19. upagahanayā iti | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Devaśravasa- | 1. Devaśravasā | 1. Devaśravasā |
| 2. Devatarasaḥ | 2. devatara- | 2. devatayarasā |
| 3. Śraumata-Kāmakayanāḥ | 3. saumṛga-kāyanā iti | 3. saumaka-kāmukākamu- |
| | (In the pravara, devatā- | kāyanā iti |
| | ratheti, devarathavad.) | |

These are Kuśikas. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa', 'like Viśvāmitra, Devaśravas-, Devataras-'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ajā | 1. Ajā | 1. Ajā |
| 2. Mādhucchandasā | 2. Mādhucchandasā | 2. Mādhucchandasā |
| 3. Mārgamitrayaḥ | 3. Mārgamitrā iti | 3. Mārgamitrā |
| 4. (Kauśikā) iti | | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya', etc.

17 So Ed., P1; P2 sausṛtāḥ; R saurathayaḥ; Sk sauradhayaḥ. (Sk and R give this before no. 15.)

18 Conj.; Ed. ālopya; P1 aśloṣya; P2 āleghya; R aulopsāḥ; Sk ailopyāḥ; S olopyā.

19 So P1; S opa-; Ed. -āpagahanayaḥ; P2 -āpagahatayaḥ.

20 So Sk, S; Ed. papadirayaḥ; P1 vyarthodarayaḥ; P2 pārṣodarayaḥ; R vāryodarayaḥ.

21 So P2; Ed. pārṇaryaḥ; P1 pārṣayaḥ; S pārṇāyaḥ; cf. possibly Pārṇajangha of Baudh.

22 and 23 So P1; Ed. kṣarapāpādolity; P2 kṣarayā yāṃḍolity; Sk kṣarayaḥ padalayo; R kṣarayāḥ pā'layo; S bhāḥ pājālā.

P omits this family, so that again we have only Ed. Before no. 1 Ed. adds devarāta-, which is clearly a blunder.

3 So certainly restored from the other lists; Ed. saumuka-kaumuhāyana; cf. Mān. and W.

3 So D2 (-triḥ); Ed., P2 mārgamityayaḥ; P1 gārgamitrayaḥ; Sk mārgamitrāḥ.

4 The name Kuśika, here and in the Dhanaṃjayas and Aśmarathyas, is probably to be understood with all the preceding names—i.e. these, although Kuśikas, have a separate pravara from the main body of the Kuśikas. So too, regularly, the Aghamarṣaṇa-Kuśikas (-Kauśikas).

*W*

1 vījāmā (in margin). (In the pravara, jaimanteti hotā, jayavan, etc.)

*Mān.*

1 āja (and in the pravara, ājiteti hotā ajivat, etc.).

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kamandaka- | 1. atha Kamandaka- | 1. atha Kamandaka |
| 2. Dhanaṃjaya- | 2. Dhanaṃjaya- | 2. Dhanaṃjaya- |
| 3. Parikūṭa- | 3. †patañjali-kuṭi | 3. †pilakaṭa- |
| 4. Pārthiva- | 4. Pārthiva- | 4. Pārthiva- |
| 5. Pāṇini- | 5. Pāṇina- | bandhala- |
| 6. (Kauśikā) iti | vandhula- | 5. Pāṇinānām iti |
| | 6. Kauśikāś | |
| | caitreya‿ | |
| | aghamarṣaṇā iti | |

Pravara: Vaiś. mādhucchandasa, āghamarṣaṇa (so both).
*Or* (W only) vaiś. kauśika, āghamarṣaṇa[1]

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānaṃjaya', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Āśmarathyāḥ | 1. Āśmarathyāḥ | 1. Āśmarathyāḥ |
| 2. Kāmukāyanino | 2. kāmalāyano | 2. kāmalāyanino |
| 3. Bandhulāḥ | [venula-] | 3. Bandhula- |
| 4 (Kuśikā) iti | 3. vandhula- | 4. Kauśika iti |
| | 4. Kauśika‿ | |
| | āngulayo | (lacuna) |
| | ghoṭakamukhāḥ | |
| | kāsṛkāyanā iti | |

Pravara: vaiś. āśmarathya †vandhula-kauśika†
(Both omit the Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas.)

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āśmarathya, Bāndhula', etc.

The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika', etc.

The Pūraṇa-Vāridhapāyantas[2] have no intermarriage. They have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Pauraṇa', etc.

The Lohita-Aṣṭakas have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Lauhita, Āṣṭaka', etc.[3]

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P (with the nibandhas) omits from the pravara of the Ajas to before that of the Āśmarathyas, thus omitting both the Dhanaṃjayas and Āśmarathyas.
1 Ed. kamadaka. (For this name, cf. gaṇa *upakādi*.)
4 Cf. Harivaṃśa, 1771.
5 Ed. pāṇinī. (Hariv. 1771 pāṇino.)

2 For Kāmukāyana, cf. gaṇa *naḍādi*.
3 So Ed. If, as is likely, this is the same name as in the pravara, P has vādhula. (Ed. in pravara, vādhūla, which may be the better reading.)
P omits the Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas.

W
1 atha kamadake.
5 pāṇita.

Mān.
4 pārthirthava.

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[1] Both pravaras seem to be wrong, comparison with the other sources suggesting a lacuna; if this is so, the pravaras here should belong to the Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas which both omit here.
[2] So P1, D; P2 *vāridhāvanta(ḥ)*; Ed. *paridhāvanta(ḥ)*.
[3] P1 omits Lauhita in the Hotṛ's pravara (but not in the Adhvaryu's).





| W | Mān. |
|---|---|
| pūriṇāḥ (lacuna)...pāriṇeti hotā pāriṇavat pūriṇavad viśvāmitravad ity adhvaryuḥ | pauriṇīḥ paridhāvayantā, etc. as in K. & L. (but pauriṇa). |
| aṣṭakā lohitānāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati vaiśvāmitrāṣṭaketi hotā, etc. | (Immediately after the āśmarathyas)...iti hotā ity eteṣām avivāhas teṣāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ[1] pravara bhavati vaiśvāmitrāṣṭaketi hotā, etc. |

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Audumbari- | 1. athaudumbarāyaṇi- | 1. athodumbarāyaṇiḥ |
| 2. Śaiśiri- | 2. Śaiśirāyaṇi- | 2. Śaiśira- |
| 3. Taikāyani- | 3. Taikāyani- | 3. Taikāyani- |
| 4. Tārkṣyāyaṇi- | 5. Tārukṣyāyaṇi- | 5. Tārukṣyāyaṇi- |
| 5. Tārukṣyāyaṇi- | velāyani- | velāyana- |
| 6. Kātyāyani- | | vedāyana- |
| 7. Kārīlādi- | modāyani- | maudāyana- |
| 8. Lāvakīnāṃ | codāyani- | caudāyana- |
| 9. Śālankāyana- | gāngāyani- | gangāyana- |
| 10. Mauñjāyanāḥ | 6. Kātyāyani- | 6. Kātyāyana- |
| 11. Katāḥ | | kātyākṣaila- |
| | 7. kārī | 7. kārī |
| | 8. rājāyaki‿iti | 8. lacaki‿iti |
| | (In the pravara, kātya kaila; kilavat kalakavad.) | (In the pravara, kātyākṣaila; tākṣilavat kātyavat.) |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkila', etc.

There are three families of the Raiṇavas:

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| | trīṇy etāni †ṭaisva† kulāni bhavanti | trīṇy etāni† raukhāṇi† kulāni bhavanti |
| 1. Krathakā | 1. kāthaka- | 1. kathyakā |
| 2. †ścaitarāyanāś | 3. audahayaś | 2. śvodūraṇa- |

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1 Sk aud-; D1 induvariḥ; D2 udabariḥ.
2 So P1, R, Sk, D; P2 śaiśili-; Ed. śaiśilī-.
3 Cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 154. After this name another may be concealed, but dittography is the most probable explanation of the manuscript readings; Ed. ḍhaikāyani-taiyani-straikāyani; P1 taikāyani-stekāyanis-; P2 ṭaikāyani-taikāyani-taikāyani-stokāyani-; R, Sk taikāyanāḥ (R -ni) stokāyanāḥ; D1 naikāyaniḥ traikāyaniḥ; D2 tekāyaniḥ (D2 omits from here to no. 7).
4 So all, except D1, which has -naḥ (dental); cf. gaṇa *gargādi*.
5 Cf. ibid.; Ed. tāruṣyāyaṇi; P1 tārūkṣayani; P2 tārṣyayaṇi; D1 tāryāyani (P1 and D1 with dental); R, Sk omit.
6 P1 kātyāni.
7 So P2; Ed. kāri-; P1 kāśīlādi; D1 karīrambhiḥ; R karīrābhayo; Sk karābhayo.
8 So Ed.; D1 lāvakiḥ; P2 vālakīnāṃ; P1 vyavakīnā; Sk bālakeyā; R bhāṃvakayaḥ; D1 omits.
9 D1 -niḥ; D2 omits.
10 Cf. gaṇa *naḍādi*; D -niḥ; P2 mauñjahāyana; P1, R, Sk maujahāyana.
11 I.e. these are all Katas.

Manuscripts raiṇava, raivaṇa, etc.
1 Conj. from the other lists; Ed., P1, P2 atha kā-.
2 So probably p (i.e. -āś ca); Ed. svaitaratyana-; P1 vaitarāyanāś; P2 pevetarapaṇāḥ.

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[1] MS. *dvyātryārṣeyaḥ*, with the syllable *tryā* marked for deletion.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. codvahayaś ceti | 2. codūrṇayaś ca... (lacuna)...teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati vaiś. kathaka kāthaketi hotā kāthakavat kathakavat viśv. i.a. | 3. śvodūhayaś ceti pravara: vaiś. kāthaka kāthyaketi hotā kathyakavat kāthavat viśv. i.a. |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina,[1] Raiṇava', etc.

Several additional families are given by W and Mān.:

| *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| | gāthino reṇavās teṣāṃ, etc., pravara: vaiś gāthina raiṇava, etc. |
| suvarṇaretasānāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ, etc., vaiś. sauvarṇaretaseti hotā suvarṇaretovad viśv. i.a. | hiraṇyaretasānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ(!), etc., vaiś. hiraṇyaretaseti hotā retasavat hiraṇyavat viśv. i.a. |
| hiraṇyaretasānāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ, etc., vaiś. hiraṇyaretaseti hotā hiraṇyaretovad viśv. i.a. | suvarṇaretasāṇāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ, etc., vaiś. suvarṇaretaseti hota retasvat suvarṇavat viśv. i.a. |
| kapotaretasānāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ (as in preceding). | kapo⟨ta⟩retasānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ (as in preceding). |
| ghṛtakauśikānāṃ dvyārṣeyaḥ (as in preceding). | ghṛtakauśikānāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ (as in preceding). |
| gāthīna reṇuvās (*sic*) teṣāṃ, etc., vaiś. gā⟨thi⟩na reṇuveti (*sic*), etc. (The Śāṭhara-Māṭharas are not in W) | śāṭara-māṭarāṇāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ, etc., vaiś. śāṭara māṭara, etc. |
| 1. kāmalāyani- | 1. atha sāhula- |
| 2. śātātapā | 2. māhula- |
| 3. rāhula- | 3. uhala- |
| 4. yohula- | 4. kohala- |
| 5. ohala- | 5. jaṃvila- |
| 6. koluha- | 6. śāvila- |
| 7. sāhula- | 7. śātila- |
| 8. māhula- | 8. phāhula- |
| 9. omila- | 9. yāmila- |
| 10. phāgula- | 10. yādadhi- |
| 11. śānila- | 11. śādadhi iti |
| 12. yānavi_iti | |
| (Pravara: vaiś. sāhula māhula, etc.) | (Pravara: vaiś. sāhula māhula, etc.) |

The order of the gaṇas differs from K. & L. Mān. has after the Devaśravases: †raukha†, Dhanaṃjayas, Ajas, Āśmarathyas, Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas; W has ††aisva†, Dhanaṃjayas, Ajas, Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas, Aṣṭaka-Lohitas; the Āśmarathyas come after the Sāhula-Māhulas in W; while both have the Katas as the final family.

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3 So P1; P2, Ed. khodvahayaś cety (for -ś caud-?).

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[1] Ed. *gādhina.*





## D. *Āśvalāyana*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Cikita- | 3. Kālabava- | 5. Kuśikānāṃ |
| 2. Gālava- | 4. Manutantu- | |

These have 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala'.
Of the Śraumata-Kāmakāyanas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa'.
Of the Dhanaṃjayas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānaṃjaya'.
Of the Ajas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya'.
Of the Rohiṇas,[1] 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Rauhiṇa'.
Of the Aṣṭakas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Āṣṭaka'.
Of the Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas,[2] 'Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta,[3] Pauraṇa'.
Of the Katas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla'.
Of the Aghamarṣaṇas, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika'.[4]
Of the Reṇus, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Raiṇava'.
(Of the Veṇus, 'Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Vaiṇava'.)[5]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Śālankāyana- | 3. Lohitākṣa- | 5. Jahnūnāṃ |
| 2. Śālākṣa- | 4. Lohita- | |

These have: 'Vaiśvāmitra, Śālankāyana, Kauśika.'

## E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

The fish said: O king, I shall tell you of Atri's other family.[6] The famous Soma was the son of Atri, and in his family was born the king Viśvāmitra, who attained Brahmanhood by his austerity.[7] His family I shall recount to you; listen while I speak:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Viśvāmitro | 3. tathā Caikita- | 7. Vataṇḍaś ca |
| 2. Devarātas | 4. Gālavau | 8. Śalankaś ca |

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3 So *BiblInd* ed.; cf. Āpast.; other, kālavava.
4 So P2, Berl, *BiblInd* ed., ChRao; Ed. mavataru; P1 manatatu.
3 m unanimously, vaikṛti-.
4 So P; rest -vaḥ.
8 So Ed., M; P, D, Kṛṣ valaśankuḥ (i.e. with transposed syllable, ca śaḷankuḥ; for -ku, cf. Mān., W.

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[1] Ed., P1 *rauhiṇānāṃ*; P2 *rauhitakānāṃ*.
[2] Ed. *pāri-*.
[3] P omits Daivarāta from the pravara.
[4] P omits from the Aghamarṣaṇas to the end of the Viśvāmitras.
[5] This family, omitted by Ed., is given unanimously by the other sources; but it is virtually certain that it has arisen simply from a variant reading of the Reṇus.
[6] The *Pravara-darpaṇa* is careful to remark that, in spite of this genealogy, it must not be deduced that the Atris and Viśvāmitras should not intermarry, a common ancestor being of itself no bar to marriage, provided the *ṛṣi*-gotras are different.
[7] Reading *tu tapasā*, with M; Ed. *sutapasā*.

9. atho Āśvāvatāyanāḥ
10. Śyāmāyanā
11. Yājñavalkyā
12. Jābālāḥ
13. Saindhavāyanāḥ
14. Bābhravyā
15. yaś ca Kārīṣiḥ
16. Sāṃkṛtyā
17. atha Sauśrutā
18. Aulūkyā
19. Aupagahanāḥ
20. Pāryodarayaḥ
21. Pārṣayaḥ
22. †kṣarapā
23. †pādbhalībhāvāḥ
24. †sādhitāvās tu
25. Kauśikāḥ

These are all said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Devarāta, and Udala[1] of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. devaśravāḥ sujāteyāḥ 3. saumukāḥ kāmukāyanāḥ 2. tathā devatarā ye ca [kuśikaś ca]

These are all said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Devaśravas, Devatara,[2] and Viśvāmitra. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

3. Mārgamitrās 1. tathā_Ājāś ca 2. Mādhucchandasa eva ca

These *ṛṣis* are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara,[3] Viśvāmitra, and Ājya, and Madhucchandas. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

2. Dhanaṃjayaḥ
1. Kamandakaḥ
3. Parikūṭaś ca
4. Pārthivaḥ
5. Pāṇiniś caiva

All these are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara . . .[4] Viśvāmitra, and Madhucchandas, and Aghamarṣaṇa. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

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9 Ed. āśvā vṛtāyanaḥ; P1 āśvavatāyanaḥ; P2 āśvavātāyanas tataḥ; D1 āśvatāpanaḥ; D2 āśvalāyana; M hy abhayaś cāyatāyanaḥ.
15 M (bābhravyāś) ca karīṣāś ca; P1 kāriṣī; P2 karīṣā hi; Ed. kārīṣī; Kṛṣ, D1 kārīṣiḥ; D2 kāriṣiḥ.
16 Restored; M saṃśrutyā; p, D1 saṃsṛtyā; D2 -sṛjaḥ; Kṛṣ saṃbhṛtāyana.
17 Restored; M saṃsrutāḥ; Ed., P1, D saṃsṛtāḥ; P2 saṃsṛjāḥ; Kṛṣ saṃsṛtāyana.
18 Restored; Ed., D1 aulopyā; P1 aulovyā; D2, Kṛṣ ālopya; M ulūpā.
19 So P1; Ed. -gavayaḥ; P2 maupagahanaḥ; Kṛṣ upagahana; M1 aupagahayā; M2 aupahāvāś ca.
20 P, Ed., to salve the metre, -aya-; P pārṣodaraya-; D1 prāsrodariḥ; D2 pārśodariḥ; Kṛṣ pāryodaya; M payodajana-.
21 So Ed., D; P1 pārṣeyaḥ; P2 pāśayaḥ; M pādapāḥ.
22 So Ed.; P1 jñakṣarapā; P2 raksapā; D1 kṣarayaḥ; D2 kṣapaḥ; Kṛṣ kṣirapa; M kharavaco.
23 So P2; Ed. pabhalibhavas; P1 praddhalībhavā; D1 pāḍaliḥ; D2 pāḍaniḥ; Kṛṣ pādvala, bhāva; M halayamāḥ.
24, 25 So Ed., M; P yamadūtā (P1 yamahatā) mayūrakāḥ.

The Devaśravases are omitted entirely by Ed. and P.
3 The correct reading is śraumatāḥ kāmakāyanāḥ; M1 sausukāḥ; M2 saumukāḥ; both, kārukāyaṇāḥ; M2 reports a v.l. kāmukāyanāḥ.
2 Restored; M vaideharātā ye.

3 M viśvāmitras (from the pravara).
1 M -ādyāś ca.

1 So restored; Ed., D, Kṛṣ karmadhayaḥ (-dhiḥ); P kāmadhayaḥ; M kapardeyaḥ.
3 D1 parihvaḥ.
4 Ed. (parikūṭas) sa-pārthivaḥ; M vocative, pārthiva.

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[1] So P1; Ed., M2 *uddāla*; M1 *uddrāla*. [2] Restored; M *devarāto*.
[3] Ed. omits this family down to this point. M has only the passage which Ed. omits, and inserts it out of place after the Dhanaṃjayas.
[4] For the lacuna, which presumably already existed in the original Matsya text, cf. Mān. and W.





2. Kāmukāyaninaś caiva 1. Āśmarathyas tathaiva ca 3. Bandhulaḥ 4. Kauśikas

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Āśmarathya, and Bandhula[1] of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(The Vāridhāpayantas and Pūraṇas)—Viśvāmitra and Pūraṇa are said to be their two pravara(-*ṛṣis*).[2] The Pūraṇas and the Vāridhāpayantas have no intermarriage.[3]

The Lohitas and Aṣṭakas—these are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Lohita, and Aṣṭaka of great austerity. The Aṣṭakas never have intermarriage with the Lohitas.

1. atha Reṇuḥ 2. Krathakaś ca 3. ṛṣiś †codāvahis tathā

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Raiṇava[4] and Gāthina[5] and Viśvāmitra. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Udumbariḥ
2. Śaiśiriś ca
4. ṛṣis Tārkṣyāyaṇis tathā
6. Kātyāyaniḥ
7. †karīrāmiḥ
9. Śālankāyani-
8. Lāvakī
10. Mauñjāyaniś ca bhagavān

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Kātya, and Ātkīla[6] and Viśvāmitra. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

O King, these Kuśikas have been told to you, ever lords of the twice-born; by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

There is no intermarriage at all between the gaṇas of Viśvāmitra listed here, Devarāta, etc., and *a fortiori* there is no marriage within a man's own gaṇa, because of sameness of pravara.

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2 P2 kāmukāyanayaś; P1 kālāyaninaś; Ed. kāmalāyaninaś; Kṛṣ kāmayani; M2 kāmalāyanijaś.
3 So Kṛṣ; Ed., P mādhulaḥ; M vañculis (M1 cañc-) cāpi tryārṣeyaḥ, etc., thus omitting Kauśika.

1 Conj.; Ed. udaveṇuḥ; P1 udarveṇuḥ; P2 udavāso pi; M, Kṛṣ udaraṇuḥ.
2 So M; Ed., P1 kathaka; P2 kathaś ca; Kṛṣ kaivyaka.
3 So M; Ed., P1, Kṛṣ -uddālaki; P2 auddālaki.

M1 omits from after codāvahis tathā to tārkṣyāyaṇi.
1 So Ed., P1; P2 aud-; M2 udumbaraḥ.
2 So restored; Ed., P saisavatiḥ; M2 saiśiritir.
4 In place of ṛṣis Ed. has a fictitious name iṣis; Ed., P2 tārkṣyayaṇis; M2 trākṣāyaṇis; P1 tārjāyanis.
6 So Ed., P; M1 śatyāyaniḥ; M2 śāṭhyāyaniḥ.
7 So Ed., P2; P1 karīrāmiḥ; M karīrāśī.
8 So M (dual); Ed., P1 lāvakāḥ; P2 lānakī.
10 So M; P2 yauñj-; Ed., P1 mauj-.

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[1] So Kṛṣ, P1; P2 *vādhuli*; Ed. *bandhuli*; M. *vañculi*.
[2] P omits this whole sentence; the passage in brackets (e.g. *vāridhāpayataś caiva pūraṇāś ca tathaiva ca*) is supplied conjecturally in place of the hopelessly muddled reading of M and Ed. *viśvāmitro lohitaś ca aṣṭakaḥ pūraṇas tathā*.
[3] So after P2—*avaivāhyāḥ pūraṇaś ca vāridhāpayatā mithaḥ*; P1 *vāridhāpayanto na vaivāhyāḥ pūraṇāś ca parasparam*; Ed., M *parasparam avaivāhyā ṛṣayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ*.
[4] Ed., M2 *ṛṇavan*; P1 *ṛṇāvān*; P2 *ṛṇavām*.
[5] So P1 only; Ed. *grathina*; P2 *grathita*; M2 *gatina*.
[6] So restored (e.g. *kātyaś caiva tathātkīlo*); all the sources corrupt; Ed. *satis tathā suvidvārir*; P1 *śvayatis tathā suvidvāri*; P2 *svasamiṃṇiś ca suvidvārir*; M *khilikhilis tathā vidyo*; M2 gives a var. lect. *khiliḥ kṣitimukhā viddho*.

CHAPTER VI

# THE KAŚYAPAS

## A. *Baudhāyana*

WE shall explain the Kaśyapas:

1. Kaśyapā
2. Chāgalayo
3. Maṭharā
4. Aitiśāyanā
5. Ābhūtyā
6. Vaiśiprā
7. Dhūmrā
8. Dhūmrāyaṇā
9. Dhaumyā
10. Dhaumyāyanā
11. Audavrajir
12. Āgrāyaṇā
13. Baimbakayaḥ
14. Prāvaryā
15. Hṛdrogāḥ
16. Kāśyāyanā
17. Pāñcāyanikāḥ
18. Mauṣītakiḥ
19. †sāgasayo
20. Māṣaśarāvayaḥ
21. Saudhavayaḥ

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2 ? So S, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 117; B -rayo; Be, U (pā) ṣṭaṃgirayo; Ed. (-pāś) cāngirayo; P -ā ṣṭāṃgirayo; D chāngariḥ; Sk, R aṣṭāngirayo.
3 S vaṭhara; P1 bha-; P2 maṇḍārā; R saṃḍarā.
4 P2 etisā-; D2 vetiśā-.
5 So Ed., P1, R; D1 ā-; P2 ābhū-; Sk āśūnyā; D2 ābhūso; M, G, T, S āhūtyā; Bu asṛtyāḥ,
6 P2 vaiśiṣṭā.
7 So A; M, G, Bu, S dhūmā; T dhudā.
9 So S, Caland (who quotes Hiraṇyakeśi's pravara-adhyāya)—cf. also gaṇa *gargādi*; the Mahābhārata names a Dhaumya as a younger brother of Devala; the latter, though also among the Kaśyapas in the pravara-chapters, is in the Śaṇḍila gaṇa; A saumyā (D1 so-); M, Bu dhaumā; T dhaumajyā; G yausyā-yaumā.
10 ? Supported by the fairly frequent cases in this text where the patronymic in -āyana follows the simplex; on the other hand, all the sources have a lingual -ṇa (except T, -sā); Caland therefore restores it as dhārmyāyaṇā, and compares gaṇa *aśvādi* (dhaumyāyana, however, also occurs in the same gaṇa). P1, D1, R dharmyā-; Sk dhamyā-; P2 dharmā-; Ed. armyā-; D2 dhārma-; Be ghārmyā-; U dhāryā; M dhaurmyā-; G yaumyā-; S dārmyā-; T dhaumyāyasā; Bu dhaumyāyaṇā.
11 Corr. by Caland, who compares gaṇa *pailādi*, Mān., and W (see also Matsya); M, G, T audhaprajur; Bu audhaprakarāḥ; S audhajir; Be, U, P2 audavṛkṣā; P1, D auṭavṛkṣā; Ed, R srauvavṛkṣā; Sk sravadvṛkṣāḥ.
12 So B, S; Be, U arāgrā-; D1, Sk, R rāgrā-; P1 egrā-; P2 āmrā-; Ed. rāmrā-; D2 rāgrā-yaṣaḥ; cf. the other lists.
13 Corr. Caland, cf. schol. to Pāṇ. 4. 1. 97; R vaivakayaḥ (cf. K. & L.); M, G, T, S paiṃba-; Bu vaimarūkayaḥ; Be, U paidhaka; Ed. paindhu-; P1 paidha-; P2 paikakayaḥ; D1 paiyakiḥ; D2 paipakiḥ; Sk caivakapa-yaḥ.
14 So Ed., D1 (cf. Kāṭh. xiii, prāvareya); P1 prācaryā; R vrācaryā; P2 pravaryā; Be, U pracaryā; S prāvāryā; G pravāhā; Bu pravā-hayyāḥ; M, T, Caland prāvāhāryā; Sk omits nos. 14–22.
15 So A; G, Bu, S hṛdrogayaḥ; M hṛdrom-gayaḥ; T hradroṃgayaḥ.
16 Conj., cf. gaṇa *naḍādi*; Caland, kāśyātapā, i.e. kāśi-ātapāḥ; M, G kāśyātayā; T kāśyatayā; Bu kāśyātayaḥ; S kāriṇyātāḥ; A ātapā (but Ed. śrāmbhayāḥ, P2 śrātāyāḥ).
17 So Ed., R; P1 -āyatikā; D1 pañcāyanikaḥ; D2 pāñcāyānāko; P2 pācamaniḥ kā-; M, G, Caland āpāmbānikā; T āpābānikā; Bu apām-bāniḥ kā-; S pāmbāmikāḥ; Be yācaniḥ kā-; U yācamaniḥ kā-.
18 ? So M, G, Caland; S mo-; T omits; B ṭhamauṣṭiḥ; Be, U, P2 meyānakiḥ; Ed., R meṣāntakiḥ; D1 meśātakiḥ; D2 mepānakiḥ; P1 neṣātakiḥ.
19 So originally A?; Ed. sāma-; P1 sāmā-; P2 saga-; D1 sāmaviḥ; D2 sāsasiḥ; T chāga-chāga-; Bu chāha-; S sāṃśayo; M chāgachāgas-sayo; G chāgandhayo; Be, U sāghasayo māghasayo.
20 So M, G, T, S, cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi* (which gives it as two names, māṣa, śarāvi); Bu māṣarāvarayaḥ; Be, U, R māghasarā-; P2 māghasārā-; P1 māsabayaḥ; Ed. māghasarā payas; D1 mā only; D2 mādhasaviḥ.
21 So Be, U, P2, Ed.; P1 sauvacayaḥ; R saidhavayaḥ; G saubabhravayaḥ; S saupas sautavayaḥ; D2 sauvaniḥ; D1 pauvaviḥ.





22. Sāyasyā
23. Āsurāyaṇāḥ
24. Chāgavyāḥ
25. Saunadyā
26. Sthaulakeśayo
27. Vārdhakaya
28. Aupavyā
29. Lākṣaṇyāḥ
30. Kroṣṭā
31. Jīvanayaḥ
32. Khādrāyaṇā
33. Rohitāyanā
34. Mitakumbhāḥ
35. Piṅgākṣaya
36. Auḍalayo
37. Mārāyaṇā
38. †pañca ca†
39. Vaikarṇeyāḥ
40. Kauṣītakeyā
41. Dhūmalakṣmaṇayaḥ
42. Surā
43. Gaurivāyaṇā
44. Vimatsya
45. Āgniśarmāyaṇā
46. Aukthyāyanāḥ
47. Kāmbarodarayo
48. Devayātā
49. Vaido
50. (A)mbā
51. Velayā
52. Mahācakreyāḥ
53. Paiṭhīnasāḥ
54. Pānasyā
55. Vṛṣagaṇā
56. Dākṣapāṇayo
57. Bhālandanāḥ
58. Śānkhamitreyā
59. Harityā
60. Pāñcālā
61. Jārāmāṇyo
62. Vārṣagāṇiḥ

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22 So A (R yā-), M, G; T sādhasyā; Bu sayasaḥ; S sāmarthyā; D2 sācarayaḥ.
23 Sk su-; R āsa-; D2 āsurāṇaḥ.
24 So A (Ed. chā-), S; M, T, Bu sthā-; G stha-; (*sth* through misreading of a Nāgari archetype?); D2 -nyaḥ.
25 So M, G, T, R, D2; Ed. -dyās; Bu -bhyaḥ; P1 sonayaḥ; P2 somadya; D1 saunaghaḥ; Sk saunayaḥ; Be, U somapāḥ; S saunavyā.
26 P1 stheṣa-; P2 -kerāyo.
27 So Bu, Ed., P2; D vādhrakiḥ; Be, U, Sk vārṣakayo (read by Caland, who surprisingly comments that the reading vārdhakayaḥ points to it); P1 varṣayo; R vārṣakayā; M, G, T boddhakaya; S bādhakaya; we should probably read vārddhakayaḥ, cf. gaṇa *bidādi*.
28 Be, U auṣ-; D2 -jyaḥ; T -thrā; Bu auśva-paryāḥ; rest, aupavyā.
29 So B, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 152; S lākṣaṇyaḥ; A lākṣāyaṇāḥ (Ed., P1 lākṣaṇāḥ; D2 lī-); Caland, comparing Mān., W, lākṣmaṇayaḥ.
30 So B, S; Be, U, Ed. krauṣṭa; P krauṣṭā; R krostavo; Sk krauṣṭavo; D1 kroṣṇaḥ; D2 kroṣṭra.
31 P1 jīvatayaḥ (which appears in Caland's text by a misprint, and is corrected in the errata); D2 jīvatiḥ; D1 jīvantaḥ.
32 ? So Be, U, P1; Ed. svārdvā-; P2 khārdrā-; Sk svādvā-; D1 khāndrā-; D2 khāhrā-; R khāiyiṇā; G khārdumā-; M, T, Bu, Caland khārdamāyaṇā (why the lingual?); S khārda-māyanāḥ; cf. perhaps khāḍāyana, or khādirā-yaṇa, gaṇa *aśvādi*.
33 So A, S; B loh-; before this name, S adds gāngāyanāḥ.
34 M, G mitra-.
35 Sk, S pingalākṣayaḥ.
36 So P, Sk; D auda-; R audu-; Ed. auḍha-; S oḍa-; T, G aujva-; Bu aujyalayanaḥ.
37 So B, D; Ed., P mārā-; S nārā-; Sk āra-; R mārārāṇāḥ.
38 So Ed.; M, G, S eva ca; P1 pacava; P2 yavaca; R, Sk paulayo; D paulaviḥ.
39, 40 Cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 124; R, Sk, D2 vaikar-ṇayaḥ; Ed. kauṣitakayāḥ.
41 So M, G, T, S; Bu -lakṣmaṇaḥ; Be, U -layāya-naya; Ed., P1, Sk, R -lahāṇayaḥ; P2 -lahāyaṇaḥ.
43 So T, S; M, G, R, Sk, P, Ed., D1 -nā (dental); Ed. gaurī-; P2 go-; D2 gorīvāyavaḥ.
44–51 In B, S, D1 only.
44 So B, D1; S vimathyāsā-.
45 Cf. gaṇas *naḍādi*, *bāhvādi*; D1 āgni-.
46 So B; D1 austhakāyanaḥ; S aukvāyanayaḥ.
47 So B; D1 -lo-; S -rodayaḥ.
48 So B; D1 -pātaḥ; S -vātā.
49, 50 So M, G; Bu bodara; S vaidontāḥ; D1 baidalaḥ; T omits nos. 49–57.
51 So M, G; Bu bāḥ lelāḥ; D1 cailaḥ; D2 kelā; S velā.
53 So B, S; Ed., Be, U, P2 -syāḥ; Sk, P1 paithinasyā; R paiṭhānasyāḥ; D2 paiṭhanasyaḥ; D1 vainasyaḥ.
54 So Ed., Be, U, P1, R, D2; P2 pī-; D1 pāla-; M, G pānaddhā; Bu pātasāḥ; S pānadhyāḥ.
55 So S; P1 niṣa-; all the others, and Caland, viṣā-.
56 So P1, D1; Ed., R, B, S dākṣamāṇayo; S dīkṣamāṇayo; P2 dāmākṣaṇayo; Sk, D2, Caland dākṣāyaṇayo; Be, U dākṣāyaṇāyo.
57 Ed. -tā; S -nayaḥ.
58 So Be, U, P1, R; P2, D2 śākha-; Sk, D1 śankha-; Ed. śāśva-; S śānka-; B sānkhya- (Bu as two names).
59 So A; M, T, Bu -trāḥ; G -ṇyāḥ; S -myāḥ.
60 So B, S, D; A omits.
61 Caland's conj., cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; Be, U, P, R, Ed. -mātsyo; D -matsyaḥ; Sk jāḥ mātsyāḥ; M jāmarāṇyo; T jāramāhyo; Bu rājamāṇyo; S rājamānyo.
62 ? So M, G, T; read perhaps -gaṇa? Cf. gaṇa *kaṇvādi*, and no. 55 above (also as patronymic of Asita in ŚB); Be, U, P, Ed. ramāṇi; R ramāṇayaḥ; D1 rambhāniḥ vārṣa-ramāṇi; R ramāṇayaḥ? D2 vārṣakāṇiḥ only; S vārṣagvāṇi; Bu bārakāṇāḥ (given by Caland among the notes to the preceding name).

63. Sauviśravaso
64. Vaiśampāyanāḥ
65. Svairakiḥ
66. Kāsalaya
67. Aukträyaṇir
68. Mārjāyanā
69. Kāṃsāyanā
70. Daivo
71. Hotā
72. Śucayaḥ
73. Kharebhā
74. Āyaḥsthūṇā
75. Bhāgurayaḥ
76. Pāthikāryā
77. Gaumāyanā
78. Hiraṇyavāpā
79. Āgnidevis
80. tathā_Āsuryā
81. Musalā
82. Āviśreṇyā
83. †uttaratogaṇḍamānā
84. Mantritā
85. Vaikarṇayaḥ
86. Sthūlabindava iti

These are Nidhruva-Kaśyapas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva', etc.

The Rebhas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha', etc.

1. Śaṇḍilāḥ
2. Kauhalāḥ
3. Pāvakāḥ
4. Pāryakā
5. Audameghāḥ
6. Saudānavāḥ
7. Sāvacasaḥ
8. Kāreyāḥ
9. Kaukaṇṭhayaḥ
10. †ṣṭaiṣikayo

63 So M, G, T; Bu sauri-; S, A sāvi- (D1 as two names; D2, P2 -sau).
65 Ed. svairaṃki-; S stairaṃki-; Sk svaraṃkayaḥ.
66 ? So Ed., P2, Sk, D; R -lasa; P1 kāśa-; S kāṃsa-; Be, U kāsalāya; M, G, T, Caland kālaśaya; Bu jālaśayaḥ.
67 So M, G; Bu aukrā-; rest with dental -n-, Ed. ucchrā-; P1 uktā-; P2 ukā-; S aukvā-; Sk, D ulkā-; R ulka-; Be, U utkā-; T auktā-.
68 So B, S; Be, U, D1 mārjālā-; D2, R, P1, Ed. mārjalā-; Sk nārjalā-; P2 mālāyanā.
69 So M, G, T, S; Be, U, Ed., D, P kāṃsalā-; R kāsalā-; Sk kāsakā-; (D2, R both have dittography of this name).
70 Be, U, R, Sk, D1, Ed., S de-; P2 davo.
71 So P, D1; R, Sk hotārāḥ; Ed. hotā; D2 hanaḥ; B hotuḥ; S hauda.
72 Sk sucakrayaḥ; D1 kaviḥ.
73 D1 surebhaḥ; D2 rebhaḥ only.
74 Restored, cf. gaṇa *śivādi*; B āyasthūṇā; D1 apaḥ sthūṇaḥ; D2 apasyūṇaḥ; R ayaḥsthūṇā; Ed., P compound this name with no. 73. (Ed. kharebhāyasthūṇā, P1 rebhāyasthaṇā, P2 karebhāyaḥ sthāṇā.)
76 So M, G, T, S, cf. gaṇa *kurvādi*; Be, U, Sk, R pāthikayo (-kayā); D pāthikaḥ; P2 prātikāyā; P1 pathikāyā; Ed. pāthikāyā.
77 So Caland, cf. gaṇa *aśvādi*; P, D1, R gomā-; Sk goma-; Ed. gomāyāvā; D2 gomavano; M gomayatā; G gomayālā; T gomayāḥ; S gomayātā; Bu homayātāḥ.
78 Conj.; M, G, Bu, S, Caland -pāpā; Ed., P1, Sk -vāyā; D2 -pāyaḥ; D1 -vāyanaḥ; R, P2 -vā.
79 So conj. by Caland—it is read, however, albeit compounded with the preceding name, by Ed., P1; P2 -āgnir devis; B, S agni-; R, Sk agnayo devayaḥ; D agniḥ devih.
80 Conj., cf. no. 23; B, S -āsūryā; Be, U -āsaurvā; P2, Ed. -āsauryā; P1 -āsauyā; D1 sūpaḥ sūryaḥ; D2 sūryaḥ sūyaḥ; R, Sk sauryāḥ.
81 So B, S, D1, Sk, cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; D2 mū-; Ed., P2 susalā; P1 suśalā; R sumalā.
82 P2, D2 -śro-.
83 So M, G; S -khaṇḍamānā; Bu -garbhamānāḥ; Be, U -gandheṣūdalā; Ed. -gaṇḍemādalā; P2 -gaṇḍeṣūdalā; P1 -gaṇḍesuśūtadalā; R -gaṇḍeṣava udāga; Sk udalī only; D1 uttaraḥ gaṇḍeṣuḥ udalaḥ; D2 uttarano gaḍeṣu udalo.
84 So A (Be, U āmantritā); M, G mantravataḥ); Bu mantravantaḥ; S mantravatā; cf. gaṇa *kaṇvādi*.
85 So A; B vaikarṇeyāḥ (but S vairaṇayaś); cf. no. 39 above.
86 So A; B śūla-; S śūlabhindavaḥ.

2 So Be, U, Ed., P2; M -ḷāḥ; R, Sk, D kohalāḥ; (G, T, Bu kohaḷāḥ?); Caland -ḍāḥ.
3 So M, G, T, Sk; Be, U, Ed., P2, R, D2 pāya-; P1, D2 pāca-.
4 So M, T, Bu; S pārthakā; Bu parya-; Ed., P2, Be, U pāyi-; P1 vāyi-; R, Sk, D1 vāpi-; D2 rāpikadau.
5 P1 -medhyā.
6 Caland, P1 -vaḥ; D -dānuḥ; Ed. -danavāḥ; P2 -danavaḥ; S saudālava.
7 Sk sāvana-; D1 sāvava-; S tyāvayasaḥ.
8 So A (Ed., Sk -yaḥ); M, G, T -yuḥ; S kāleyāḥ; Bu omits.
9 ? So Ed., P2, R; Be, U, Sk -kaṇṭayaḥ; D -kaṇṭakiḥ; P1 -kaṇṭakayas; G, T, Bu kaukuṇḍeyā; M kauṇḍeyā; S kākuṇḍeyaḥ.
10 So T; S ṣṭaiṣa-; Bu daiṣī-; M, G aiṣi-; Ed. staikṣi; Sk, P1 taikṣi; D2 naikṣi; D1 taukṣa; P2 taithi.





11. māhakayo
12. Mahodakayaḥ
13. Kauśrayo
14. [Kāmaśayo]
15. Mauñjāyanā
16. Jāṇavatsāḥ
17. Khārdamāyanā
18. Gāngāyanā
19. Vātsabhālayo
20. Gobhilā
21. Vaidāyanā
22. Vātsyāyanā
23. Bahūdarayo
24. Bhāguriḥ
25. Gārdabhīmukhaḥ
26. Hiraṇyabāhus
27. Taidehā
28. Gomūtrā
29. †vākyaśaṭhā
30. Jānaṃdharir
31. Jālaṃdharir
32. Dhanvantarir iti

These are Śaṇḍilas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāṇḍila', etc.; or 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Daivala', etc.; or 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita', etc.; or 'Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala', etc.

1. Laukākṣayo
2. Dārbhāyaṇā
3. Maitravādir
4. Vaidehā
5. Kāleyāḥ
6. Kāpuṭis tathā
7. kalayaś ca
8. Kāṃsapātrayaś ca

11 So P, R, D; Ed. mahākayo; Sk māhavayaḥ; M, G, Bu, T mahokayo (or mahākāyo); S māhākāyo; (dittography of following?).
12 So M, A (P1 vah-); D1 bahūdakiḥ; D2 vānadakiḥ; S mahaujakayaḥ; G mahodakā; Bu mahodayāḥ.
13 So M, T, Caland; Bu -sra-; P kauśayo; P2, R, Sk kośayaḥ; D kauśiḥ; Ed. koṣayaḥ; G kaureyo; S kośrāyaṇiḥ.
14 So M, G, T, S; A, Bu omit; the fact that no. 13 appears with -yo instead of -yaḥ in M, G, T is confirmation that this is an interpolation; S gives this after no. 15, D after no. 16 (kāmaśiḥ).
15 Be, U, P1, D2 mauj-; P2 moñj-; Sk māj-; S mārjāyanāḥ.
16 So M, G, T; Bu rāṇa-; S dāṇa-; Be, U -vaṃśyāḥ; P, Ed. -vaṃśāḥ; Sk bhāgavaṃśāḥ; R bhāṇavaśā; D1 māṇavaṃśaḥ kāmaśiḥ āyavatsaḥ; D2 bhāṇavaśaḥ kāmaśiḥ āpavatsaḥ.
17 ? So M, G, T; S -ṇāḥ; Bu khāda-; Caland khārvamāyanā (why dental -n-?); Ed., P2, D1 khārvamānayā; R khārvabhānayā; P1 khārvayanaya; D2 khāryamāyano; Sk svāvaṃśāyanāḥ; Be, U kharvamānayā.
18 P1 gāvabhā; Ed. gāngayanā.
19 So Ed., P2, R, Sk, D2; P1 vāsa-; D1 -bhaliḥ; Be, U -tālayo; M, G vatsalabhālayo; T vatsalābhāleyo; Bu vātsagālayo; S mātsyabālyāḥ.
20 So A; B govidā, gobidā; S govilāḥ.
21 ? So Caland; A ved-; M, G, Bu vel-; T vail-.
22 So A (Ed. vāśya-); S -yanayo; M, T vāhyāyanayo; Bu vācā-; G vācyāyana bāhyāyanayo; on this evidence, Caland reads two names in his text—vātsyāyanā vāhyāyanayo; but G (an edition, after all) is the only source which has both.
23 So S, A (P1 cahū-, D2 maho-); B mahodakayo, cf. no. 12 above.
24 Be, U plu.; rest of A, and B sing.
25 So corr. by Caland, cf. the other lists; M, T khārdabhi-; G khārdamābhi-; Bu khādābhi-; S gārdabhiḥ makhā; Be, U khādanto-; Ed., Sk khārdatī-; P1, D, R khādantī-; P2 khardatī-.
26 Sk -yāvāḥ.
27 So B, D2; A te-; Sk ne-; D1 agnidehaḥ.
28 P1 goputrā; R yosūtrā.
29 So A (but P1 vākyaṣṭā; Sk vāktha-; R -śavā); M, G, T -ṣaṇḍa; Bu vācyaṣaṇḍāḥ; S vākyaśuṇṭhāḥ; Caland hesitatingly emends to vārkhakhaṇḍā, cf. GobhGS 3. 10. 8, and K. & L. vṛkakhaṇḍa (where, however, Mān., W, and Matsya have vṛṣa-).
30 So A (but Be, U jalaṃ-); M, G, T jānantarir; Bu jātari.
31 So A (R -dhvarayo); B jālantari.
32 So A; Caland (by a pure misprint) dhanvantar iti.

1 So B, cf. gaṇa *kārtakaujapādi*; this is the older spelling; A laugākṣayo.
2 Sk dāmbh-.
3 So A; B -bāhu; D1 -vāhaḥ; S cāmaitraḥ bāhir; possibly we should read -vāhir.
4 ? So M, G, T; Bu vaibhavaḥ; S vedhā; Be, U vehalā; Ed., P2 veha- only; D, Sk dehaonly (joined with next name); R diha-; P1 paṃhaṣāṃ.
5 So all (or kāḷ-), except Be, U kalepi; M, T kāleyuḥ; Bu kaḷayaḥ; P2 kāleyī; P1 omits.
6 D2 puṭi; P1 duṭis tathā.
7 So A (Be, U without *ca*?; D2 kā-; Sk kālapāḥ; D1 yakasayaḥ); M, G, T (tathā) trayaś ca; Bu (tayā) trayaḥ; S (tathā) vrayaś ca.
8 So M, G, T; S -trāś ca; Bu -pāyaḥ; Ed., Sk kaṃsapātraś ca; D2 kalapātraḥ (D1 omits); P, R kasapātraś ca; Be, U kāsayaḥ pātraś ca.

9. Bhālakāyanir
10. †samastā
11. †virodakiḥ
12. Kaunāmiḥ
13. Sautayaḥ
14. Saitakiḥ
15. Sāmbharir
16. Āniṣṭi-
17. †ṣṭaiṣikiḥ
18. sausukiś
19. cairandiḥ
20. paśubhiś
21. causyaṇā
22. yodhakālakir†
23. Lokākṣayo
24. Yauthapāla-
25. Ājapālā iti

These are Laukākṣis. By day they are Vasiṣṭhas, by night Kaśyapas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṣṭha', etc.; or 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita', etc.[1]

## B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of the Kaśyapas, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva', etc.

Of the Rebhas, a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha', etc.

Of the Śaṇḍilas, a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Daivala, Āsita', etc. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Daivala, Āsita', etc. Thus regularly those who have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara.

9 So Be, U, P, Ed.; D bhālaṃkā-; R bhāvālakā-; Sk bhālakāmanayo; S vālukā-; M, G phāllukā-; T phālvakā-; Bu bhālukā-.
10 So B, S; Ed., D1 parastā; P tyarastā; Sk nityarātādayaḥ; R nityarāsrāca; Be, U nityaraso; D2 prastā.
11 So Be, U, P2, Ed.; D1 viḥ audakiḥ (audakiḥ is conjectured by Caland, cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi*); D2 viḥ rodakiḥ; P1 virodhaki; Sk ondakayo; R oṃ dakayaḥ; M, T vidolakiḥ; G vidālakiḥ; S vibhedakiḥ.
12 So p, M, R, Sk, D2; G -mikaḥ; Be, U, D1 -nābhiḥ; S saunāmi; cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi*.
13 So Be, U, Ed., P2, R; P1 saulaya; Sk saunāmayaḥ; D sauliḥ; M, S saitayaḥ; T setayaḥ; G omits.
14 So M, G, T, D; S selagiḥ; Be, U sautaki; Ed., P saitiki; R, Sk saitika-.
15 So M, G, T, D2; D1 sārambhariḥ; S sāmbharaṇir; Be, U ṣṭirabho; Ed., P ṣṭibhero; R yaṣṭibherā; Sk pauṣṭhimerā.
16 So M, G, T; Be, U, P, Ed. niṣṭi; R, Sk niṣṭhaya(ḥ); D1 āviṣṭiḥ; D2 rāniṣṭiḥ; read perhaps ānaṣṭi?; cf. the other lists.
The following names are beyond recovery.
17 So M, T, Ed., P2, R; P1 ṣṭaiviki; Be, U ṣṭaiṣaki; Sk aiṣikayaḥ; D raiṣikiḥ; G ṣṭairvikiḥ; S (with preceding) āriṣṭaiṣagi; Caland emends to āniṣṭir aiṣikiḥ.
18 So P2; Ed. so-; S sāsuṇiś; Be, U mausukiś; P1 saumukinaś; M sausari; G, T saubhari; S saususikayaḥ; R sausukakaḥ; D1 saurasukhiḥ; D2 saurasukiḥ; cf. possibly sāsuci in K. & L.
19 So Be, U; P1, S -ṇḍi; M cairidraḥ; G cairitraḥ; T cairidyaḥ; Ed. cairandhri; P2 cairandri; Sk sairandhrayaḥ; R sairadhrayaḥ; D1 sairandhriḥ; D2 saurandhri; possibly sairandhri?
20 So M, G, T; S śubriś; A omits.
21 So Be, U, P2; Ed. copyaṇā; S colbaṇa; P1 cauppaṇā; D1 coṣyanaḥ (dental n); D2 vaiṣmaṇaḥ; Sk causaṇā; R ceṣmaṇa; G colapalā; M colarpalāya; T copalāśca.
22 So D, R; Ed. -kālakikalo; P1 yaudhakālakekalo; P2 moghakālakapilo; Be, U yovyakālakapilau; S yojākālakika; G yauthakālakir; M, T yauthakālakiko; Sk yokālakayo.
23 So B, S; Be, U lauk-; rest laug-.
24, 25 So M, G; T yaudhapāyā; Bu vājapālayaḥ; Be, U, P1, Ed. vācayājayā; P2 vācayajavā; D1 kalaḥ vācayaḥ añjayaḥ; D2 kālavācamaḥ ajapālir.

[1] So B; Ed., Sk, etc. for the alternative give 'Vāsiṣṭha, Avatsāra, Kāśyapa', perhaps rightly. Caland's note attributes to Be, U only the reading Kāśyapa in place of Āsita, which is of course an impossible pravara (Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Kāśyapa). Since, however, Caland suggests they may be right, possibly they read as Ed. here.





*Puruṣottama adds a comment:*

Some explain this last phrase to mean that all the Śaṇḍilas ought to have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara, not a three-*ṛṣi* pravara (i.e. taking it to mean: 'They regularly have a two-*ṛṣi* pravara'). This is not valid, because of the prohibition in Jaimini's rule: 'A man who does not have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara should be excluded from the competency to sacrifice.' Therefore the meaning is, those who have two *ṛṣis* should regularly get three *ṛṣis* in their pravaras by this method, not simply the Śaṇḍilas. Thus the Aṣṭaka-Lohitas, who have two *ṛṣis*, are to be considered to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara.

## C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

We shall explain the Kaśyapas.

1. Āgrāyaṇā
2. Vṛṣagaṇā
3. Mauṣakir
4. Itikāyanā
5. Audavrajir
6. Māṭharaś ca
7. †gojāvīr
8. atha Lākṣmaṇiḥ
9. Śālāthaleyāḥ
10. Kairañjāś
11. Caikityā
12. Āsurāyaṇā

*W*

1. Āgrāyaṇāś cankrāyaṇā grāvātaṇā
2. Vṛṣagaṇā †sautanva sonvā†
3. Mauṣakir
4. Itikāyanā
5. Audavrajir
6. Māṭharaś ca
7. kaijālīly
8. atha Lākṣmaṇayaḥ
9. Śālāthaleyāḥ
11. kaidikyā śaileścayaḥ

*Mān.*

1. Āgrāyaṇa-śvāgrāyaṇā graivāyaṇā
2. Vṛṣagaṇā
(53?) somabhūtā śonavyā
3. Mauṣakir
4. Itikāyanā
5. Audavrajir
6. Māṭharaś ca
7. kaijāli
8. atha Lākṣmaṇayo

(lacuna)

1 So S, Sk, R, D; Ed., P ātrā-.
2 So S; Ed. viṣa-; P2 viṣakaraṇā; P1 niravaṇā.
3 ? Cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 18, mauṣītaki; P2 mauṣa only; S mapaki; rest, mauṣaka; for -r, see next.
4 Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 4, aitiśāyana, and gaṇa *naḍādi*, where both names occur; Ed., P2, D1 rati-; Sk nati-; R rīti-; D2, P1 ritikātyāyanā; S kāyanā only.
5 Restored, cf. the other lists; Ed., P, D auṣaprati; R, Sk aupaprati; S oṣaprati.
6 Restored, cf. Mān., Matsya, Baudh. no. 3; Ed., P, S māsara(ś ca); R māsa only; Sk -māḥ only; D maḥ sarā.
7 So Ed., P; R gojāvār-; D gojăḥ vīr-; S gojāriṭivīr; Sk omits.
8 Conj., cf. the other lists; Ed. adharāvṛṣi; S, P adhvarā(ṃ)vaṇi; R ādhvarāyanayaḥ; D1 ādhvaraḥ phaṇī; D2 ādhvaro yaṇiḥ; Sk omits.
9 Restored, cf. W, and gaṇa *śubhrādi*; S śālāvaneyāḥ; rest sārāhareyāḥ.
10 S kar-; D1 kairajaḥ; P1 kairamnas.
11 Conj., cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; P, D1 caiketā; D2 vaikettaḥ; R, Sk (ś)vaiketā; S ceketā.

*W*

3 mauṣiki-.
4 ṭikānā.
5 oḍavrajī.
6 māṣakaś ca.
8 apya lākṣmaṇayaḥ.
9 śālālāthakeyāḥ.

*Mān.*

1 āgrāgaṇā.
3 mauṣiki-.
4 yetikāyanā.
5 oṃ davajrī.
6 māṭaraś cai.
8 atha Lākṣmaṇīyo.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 13. †mātṛtyā | 19, 20. sighrabāhukāyanaḥ | |
| 14. †vaivakaya | supaṇātvetayo | |
| 15. †traikayo | 14. vaikaṃkayaḥ | 14. vaidhakayaḥ |
| 16. Bhauvanāḥ | 15. śaikayaḥ | 15. ślokatyā |
| 17. Paiṭhīnasāḥ | śaukayo | |
| 18. Saindhavāḥ | 16. jaś ca bhaumāni | 16. yaś ca bhaumani |
| 19. Śīghragā | 21. devātavā | 21. devatayā |
| 20. Āhvagāyakā | 22. gomajātāḥ | 22. gomeyāda |
| 21. Devayātāḥ | 23. tho vatsāyathayaś ca ye | 23. †atho tthāsvayaṃsvāpa |
| 22. Somayāgā | 39. Dhūmrāyaṇāś | 39. Dhūmrāyaṇāḥ |
| 23. atho †'paśrāyāvayaś† ca | | subahuś ca‿ |
| 24. †duda [ye | | atho ṛṣyāyaṇā |
| 25. Gavyāyanāḥ | | kārṣyāyaṇā |
| 26. Śatruhayo | | svāroyaṇā |
| 27. Hṛdrogāḥ | | ḍākavāyaṇāḥ |
| 28. Kācāyanāś | 26. chatrahayayo | 26. śatṛbhayo |
| 29. Cakradharmī | bhriyogāri- | bhiryogādiḥ |
| 30. Mahācakradharmī | śelagāḥ | śarakāḥ |
| 31. †śraiyayaṇā | kāṣṭāyanā | kāṣṭayaṇā (*sic*) |
| 32. hārkarayo† | śākādāḥ | śākādaḥ |
| 33. Dākṣapāṇayo | śālihotrāyanāś ca ye | śālihotrāś |
| 34. Hāstidāsi- | gādyāyanāś | cāyamājānanāthāḥ |
| | 29? cākrayamīmā | kuvamimāḥ |
| | cakra | cakridāḥ |
| | 33. Dākṣapāṇayo | 33. Dākṣapāṇayo |
| | (55). Mārīcayo | (55). Mārīcayo |
| | Māṣaśarāvir | Māṣaśarāvir |
| | 44. Āgniśarmāyaṇāś ca ye | 44. Āgniśarmāyaṇāś ca ye |
| | 34. Hāstidāsi- | 34. Hāstidāsi |

13 So Ed., P, D2, R, Sk; D1 mātṛptaḥ; S mādravyā.
14 So Ed., P2; Sk, P1 rai-; S vaidhulakayaḥ; rest omit.
15 So all, except Ed. prai-; S svai-; Sk omits.
16 P1 -mā.
18 ? So S, cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 21, saudhavi; P2 saindhavavāś; Ed. sadhavāś; P1 saidhabhārā.
19 Conj.; D1 sīghrakaḥ; D2 śodhragaḥ; R, Sk caitragāḥ; P2 caipragā; P1 saighramāgā (with the syllable *mā* noted for deletion); Ed. capragā; S svaidhrakā.
20 So R, Sk, S; P1 āhra-; P2 āhna-; Ed. dhāhva-; D1 āhu-; D2 ārūgāyanaḥ.
21 So S, Sk, D1; Ed., P2, D2 -pātāḥ; R devatāḥ; P1 -pālāḥ, corr. to -pātāḥ.
22 So all (except S -yātā); but cf. the other lists.
23 So P1 (with *cai* for ca ye); Ed. athopaśvāyāśye; P2 athopaścāyāvayaś ca; S ṣaścāyāvaṇaś ce; R upaśvāyāvayatye; D1 upatpāyaviḥ ce; D2 upatsyāyāviḥ ve; Sk omits.
24 So Ed., P, R; D2 dudraṃ; D1 duḥ; S da.
25 P2 gā-; rest, gă-.
26 So Ed., D2, R; Sk -hṛyaḥ; D1 śatrehiḥ; P1 śatṛ-; P2 śatṛharitāyana-mātaṃgayo.
27 So P2; Ed. hṛdyogā; P1 dṛghogā.
28 S kācakāyanāḥ.
31 So Ed., P2; P1 śraupa-; Sk, R traipa-; S traiṣā; D1 traipaṇayaḥ; D2 śreyaṇaḥ.
32 So P, Sk, D; R hārke-; Ed. hārkaratho; S hākirayo.
33 So Ed., P2, R, S; Sk -yāṇayo; P1 dākṣāyanapa.
34 So Ed., D2; D1 hāstiḥ only; P1 hāstidāsti; P2 ahāstidāsi; R, Sk hastayo dāsayo.

*W*

33 dākṣayāyaṇayo.
55 māricayo.
māṣaśar only.
44 -ăś ca ye.
34 hāstidāyi.

*Mān.*

33 pakṣapāṇayaḥ.
māṣasasarā.
44 ăgniśarmāyaṇăś ca ye.
34 hāstidāyi.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 35. Vātsyapāṇi- | pailagmolina‿ | yailimailita-‿ |
| 36. Hāstalāyana‿ | 37. Ānyakṛtiḥ | 37. Ānyakṛti- |
| 37. Anyakṛta- | 42. Kauṣītakiḥ | 42. Kauṣītaki- |
| 38. †vaumūla- | (see below) | saumiśrī |
| 39. Dhūmrāyaṇa- | kauṇḍa- | kaṇḍāḍā |
| 40. †svavabhṛṣṭha‿† | vāyutir | vāyani- |
| 41. atho Āśvavātāyanāḥ | āruṇi- | vāruṇi- |
| 42. Kauṣītakāḥ | vauvari- | vaivarī |
| 43. khagādā | śaivayo | śaivarayo |
| 44. atho Āgniśarmāyaṇāś ca | jñāna- | jighāna- |
| ye | 49. hasti- | 49. Hāstikaśyapa- |
| 45. †mauhūjyāḥ | | 17. Paiṭhīnasa- |
| 46. Kaikaseyāḥ | 46. Kaikaseya- | 46. Kaikaseya- |
| 47. Kāśvahāyano | pratipeya- | pratiṣeya- |
| 48. Dvihāyano | pratiścavasāmo | sauśyavasamoya- |
| 49. Hastyakaśyapa- | sahyāgnā | saryāgnā |
| 50. Sānuśruta- | vasava- | vasamopa- |
| 51. Hāritāyana- | saumiśri- | (see above) |
| 52. Mātanga- | yovadami- | dārbhaḥ |
| 53. Somabhuvā iti | pāliśāyanā | pālaśāyinaḥ |
| | harlari- | |
| | māhaki- | |
| | pārṣaki- | |
| | kāśyapī | |
| | 17. Paiṭhīnasi- | |

35 So Ed., R, Sk; P2 vātsyā-; P1 vādūpayāṇi; D2 vātsyaḥ pāṇiḥ.
36 So Ed., R (cf. gaṇa *naḍādi*, hāstināyana?); Sk -nāḥ; P1, D hāsa-; P2 hāskha-.
37 So Ed., P1, D; P2 -krayo; R nyakṛtacaḥ.
38 So Ed.; P1 -bhūla; P2 mūla only; D1 baubhūlaḥ; D2 dhautulaḥ.
40 So P1; R -bhṛṣtā; D1 -bhraṣṭaḥ; D2 -bhaṣṭaḥ; Ed., P2 svababhṛsva‿; S svataśca.
41 So P2 (aṣyo for atho), D, R; Sk aśvarātāyanā; Ed. -tāpanāḥ; P1 aśvatāyanā; S āśvalāyanā.
42 So S; D1 kauśīdakaḥ; Ed., P1, D1, R kausīdakāḥ (dental); P2 kausādakāḥ; Sk kausīrakāḥ.
43 So Ed., P, Sk, S; R sva-; D1 khagadaḥ; D2 khāgadaḥ.
44 So Ed., R; rest ăgni-; S āśvo vāgmi-; for -ś ca ye, P1 śraye; D1 śrayaḥ; D2 śreyaḥ; the particles atho, and ca ye should not occur together, and their occurrence here probably indicates a lacuna or dislocation; see Mān. and W.
45 So Ed., R; P2, D1 mahū-; P1 mahra-; S māṇḍavyāḥ.
46 So R, cf. the other lists and gaṇa *śārngaravādi*; Ed., P -śayaḥ; Sk -śayāḥ; D (sa)kaikasiḥ; S kaikayaśaḥ.
47 ? So Ed., D; P1 kāśvayanā; P2, Sk kāśca- (Sk also -ṇā); R kaśva-; S kāṣṭhakāyano.
48 ? So P, D1; D2, Sk vihā-; Ed. dvivā-; R dvihāyatā; S jahīyano, with which cf. Matsya.
49 So Ed., P (a Hastikāśyapa occurs in the Mahābhārata); R, Sk, D hastyăḥ only.
50 ? So Ed., D, R; P1 -śvata; P2 -śṛta; Sk -ścutā-.
51 Sk hāṭi-.
52 So R, P2 (P2 gives nos. 51 and 52 misplaced between 26 and 27 as well as here—there, mātangayo); Ed. mānga; P1 mānāga; D1 mānagaḥ; D2 omits; Sk mārgaṇā.
53 So D2, R; S saugabhuvā; P1 somamuvo; P2 -bhūyā; Ed. -bhūvā; D1, Sk -bhruvāḥ.

*W*

46 kaikaśepa.

*Mān.*

42 kaiṣītakī.
17 paiḍhānasa.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| | kaduka-<br>bhakṣīty | kaduka-<br>bhaikṣi iti<br>(In the pravara, naidhṛva.) |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva', etc.

The Śānkhamitri-Rebhas have no intermarriage.[1] They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| | raibhyāṇāṃ (*sic*) tryārṣeyaḥ,<br>etc., as in K. & L.<br>śānkhamitrāḥ<br>śākāyā<br>rephāyā<br>kuyalā iti<br>Pravara: kāś. āvatsāra,<br>śānkhāmitreti, etc. | |
| 1. †sampavā | 1. śambhujā | 1. śambhujā |
| 2. calubhiś cobhe | 2. jalibhuś cādhvo | 2. jalibhraśvobhau |
| 3. upalodha† | 3. dhomapurodho | 3. bhūmapurodha- |
| 4. Jalaṃdhara- | 4. Jalaṃdharo | 4. Jalaṃdhara- |
| 5. bahumiḍo | 5. muja- | 5. mujo |
| 6. haipuraḥ | 6. mapūraḥ | 6. mayūraḥ |
| 7. paryā | 7. parya- | 7. parya- |
| 8. maujīmo | 8. moṣṇo | 8. goṣṭo |
| 9. Gardabhīmukho | 9. Gardabhīmukho[li] | 9. Gardabhīmukho |
| 10. Hiraṇyabāhuś | 10. Hiraṇyabāhur | 10. Hiraṇyabāhur |
| 11. . . . | 11. Ādityavarṇaḥ | 11. Ādityavarṇaḥ |
| 12. cairalā⟨v⟩ ubhau | 12. saudhāsy ubhau | 12. †saudāmilubho |
| 13. keśila- | 13. gosila- | 13. śauśila- |
| 14. Gobhilau | 14. Gobhilo | 14. Gobhilo |
| 15. Kuhalo | 15. Kuhalo | 15. Kuhalo |

After the Baudh. list, R, Sk give most of the following names, but in haphazard order.
1 So Ed., P2; P1 saṃvapa; D sa(ṃ)pacaḥ.
2 P1 cabhe; read cobhau?
3 P1 -ladhe; D2 -locaḥ.
4 Restored; P1, R, Sk, D -dhava; Ed., P2, S jalamba.
5 So Ed., P2; P1 valamiḍo; D1 bahumindhaḥ; D2 -miñjaḥ; R, Sk vahupiṇḍaḥ; S bahamidyo.
6 So P, D; Ed. hairyuraḥ; S haiḥ puru-; Sk haipuṭāḥ; R haiyurā.
7 So Ed., P, D2; D1 parva; S ṣayo; R, Sk paryaśvāḥ; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 4 pāryaka.
8 So Ed.; P mo-; D mauñjimaḥ; S mācamammo; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 15, mauñjāyana.
9 So D1; D2 -bhiḥ-; Ed. -bī-; S -bhā-.
11 For the lacuna, cf. Mān., W.
12 P1 cairalā ubhau; P2 -nī ubho; Ed. cairanābhaḥ; D, R, Sk cerala; S cairabhānuḥ.
13 So Ed., P2, D2; D1 -bhaḥ; P1 kośila; R, Sk keśilāḥ; S jākela.
14 Restored, cf. the other lists; Ed., P, D1, R, Sk, S kokilau; D2 kaukilaḥ; R, Sk have also, a few names later, gośilāḥ.
15 So Ed., P, D2, cf. Baudh. no. 2; D1 kuhavaḥ; S kahanā.

*W*

4 jalaṃdhāro.
15 gṛhalo.

*Mān.*

9 gardhabhimukhaḥ.
15 kuśalo.

[1] So P2 *śānkhamitrayo rebhāḥ*; Ed. *śāśvamitrayo rebhāḥ*; P1 *sāṃbhavā maitrayo rebhā*; D1 *śāmbhavaḥ maitreyaḥ rebhaḥ*; D2 *śābhavo maitrayo reṣabhaḥ*. Possibly the two names do not belong together; cf. W.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 16. Vṛkakhaṇḍaś ca | 16. Vṛkakhaṇḍas ca‿ | 16. Vṛkakhaṇḍaś ca |
| (17). ity ete Devajātayaḥ | 24. ity ete gokuraṇḍaya- | 24. ity ete gukuraṃvyaḥ |
| 18. Udamegha- | 22. nutaraś | 22. uttaraḥ |
| 19. Tṛṇabindu- | 23. cātiketuś ca | 23. śāntiketuś ca‿ |
| 20. Sudānu- | 17. ity ete Devajātayo | 17. ity ete Devajātayaḥ |
| 21. Kauvalayaś ca | 26. vedāyana-<br>janghalāyana-<br>śatrūhāyana- | 26. vedāyana-<br>jangharāyaṇā-<br>śatrūhāyana- |
| 22. uttaraś ca | 18. Udameghas | 18. Audameghās |
| 23. Suketuś ca‿ | 19. †tilamasti | 19. tṛṇavasta |
| (24). ity ete kauraṇḍajāḥ | 25. Śaṇḍilo<br>magalo<br>bhagalaś ca<br>vāsukis<br>tattalis<br>taitilir<br>vādbuda-<br>śauśmaṇoyā iti | 25. Śaṇḍilo<br>mahākā<br>bhallakaś ca<br>vāyukīs<br>tārkalis<br>tettṛ<br>codvudi<br>sauṣmineyā iti |
| 25. Śaṇḍilā | | |
| 26. Vaidānava- | | |
| 27. Saudānava- | | |
| 28. Paippalādir | | |
| 29. †uparīvāri‿ity | | |
| | (Pravara and alternative as in K. & L) | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala', etc.; or 'Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ānaṣṭayo | 1. anuṣṭubho | 1. Ānaṣṭayo |
| 2. Bhāgurayaḥ | 2. bhākuraṣaḥ | 2. bhāgrarayaḥ |
| 3. śākalayo | 3. śātayo | 3. śyenapo |
| 4. āvapālayaḥ | 4. sthājapālayo | 4. thājāpālayaḥ |
| 5. saikī | 5. śairī | 5. śairī |
| 6. rājavāhiś ca | 6. kudavāhī ca | 6. siraudavāhī ca |

16 So Ed., P, D2, S, cf. GobhGS 3. 10. 8, vārkakhaṇḍi; D1 dṛkasaṇḍaḥ; Sk eka-; R yaka-.
17 Presumably, all the preceding families are Devajātis; but the divergence of the other lists makes the correct position of the phrase doubtful; so P; Ed. -jātapāḥ; S -rātayaḥ; D, as an ordinary name in the list, devajātiḥ.
19 P1 tagā-.
20 P1 sudāna.
21 ? So Ed., P2, R, Sk, D (-liḥ); P1 maukauvannayaś ca (with hiatus); S kaubalaś cau-.
22 This, although taken as a name by the nibandhas, is presumably to be taken adjectivally with the next—'and further, Suketu'.
23 P2 sukonuś.
24 Cf. note to no. 17; so D2; D1, R kauruṇḍaja; Ed., P1 kauraḍajāḥ; P2 kauravuḍajā; Sk kauraṇḍarajāḥ; S kauradvājāḥ; D, R, Sk as an ordinary name in the list.
25 Restored; Ed. śākilā; P, D2 śaṃkhila; D1 śākhilaḥ; S śambilā.
28 Conj., cf. Matsya; P2, D1 paippalăḥ; P1 paiyyalī; Ed. pailyalāyū‿; S paipyulāyū‿; R, Sk pippalāḥ and paippalādayo.
29 So S; Ed. -ūpari-; P pūpari-; P2 pūparī-; D pūpariḥ vāriḥ; after this, D2 adds maharṣayas.

Here again R, Sk are in haphazard order, and it is not always clear whether a reading belongs here or to the Matsya list.
1 So S, D, R; Ed. ānaṣṭāyo; Sk anaṣṭayo; P1 ānuṣṭhayo; P2 ānamṛkā.
2 ? Conj., cf. the other lists; P2, S phākulayaḥ; Ed. pyakulayaś; P1 phājavalayaḥ; D1 phājaliḥ; D2 kājavaliḥ; R bhākurayo; Sk sigurayo.
3 So Ed., P, Sk; S śāktayo; D1 śākabaliḥ; D2 śākavaliḥ.
4 So Ed.; Sk, P, S -phā-; D1 rāvaliḥ; D2 rājavartti.
5 So Ed., P, D2; D1 saukiḥ; Sk saikayaḥ.
6 So all, except S -aś ca.

*W*

16 vṛṣaṣaṇḍaś ca.‿
18 ḍadaneccyas.

*Mān.*

16 vṛṣakaṇḍaś ca.
18 audamevyās.
25 chaṃḍilyo.

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 7. sairandhri- | 7. śaundrī | 7. śairaṃghri |
| 8. rājasevaki- | kupajīvayā | aupaśavīyaḥ |
| 9. sāsuci- | so 'stami | saumyaplakoyuṣī |
| 10. Kāpuṭi- | kāyusavika | kālaśi |
| 11. Pingākṣi- | | |
| 12. Laugākṣi- | 12. Laugākṣi | 12. Lokākṣa- |
| 13. śāradvata iti | 13. śarastamba ity eteṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati, kāśyapāvatsāra śārastambeti hotā, etc. | 13. sva idaṃdha ity eteṣām avivāhas teṣāṃ, etc., as in K. & L. |

Both Mān. and W give the Laugākṣis immediately after the Nidhruvas.

These are Vasiṣṭhas by day (*prātar*) and Kaśyapas by night. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṣṭha', etc.

## D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Kaśyapas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita'.
Of the Naidhruvas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva'.
Of the Rebhas, 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha'.
Of the Śaṇḍilas, 'Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala', or 'Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala'.

## E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

The fish said: Kaśyapa was the son of Marīci; I shall tell the *ṛṣis* who were founders of gotras in the Great-family (mahākula) of Kaśyapa. Hear their names from me:

1. Āgrāyaṇā
2. Vṛṣagaṇā
3. †meṣakir
4. Itikāyanāḥ
5. Udavrajā
6. Māṭharāś ca
7. †bhojāvi-
8. naya† Lakṣaṇāḥ
9. Śālāthaleyā
10. Kairañjāḥ
11. kanyakāś ca
12. Āsurāyaṇāḥ
13. †mandākinyāṃ
14. vaibhṛgayāḥ
15. śrutayo
16. Bhauvanāyanāḥ
21. Devayātāḥ
22. Somayāgā
23. †hy adhaśchāyā bhayaś† ca ye
28. Kācāyanāḥ

7 So S; Ed., Sk sau-; P1 sauraṃdvidhi; P2 saurandhi.
8 So P1; Ed. -saivaki; P2 -sevikiś ca; D1 -saikiḥ; R rājasevasakayaḥ; Sk sajasakavayaḥ; S rājastambaki.
9 So Ed., P, D2; D1 sāmuciḥ; (Sk sāyudhayaḥ).
10 So P2, D1; P1, D2 kāpaṭi; Ed. kāpuṭa.
11 So Ed., D; P1 pingākhi; P2 lingākṣi.
13 ? P1, D2 śaradvata iti; D1 saradvantaḥ; P2 śarata iti; Ed. śaratava iti; S sarabhava iti.

1 So Ed., Kṛṣ, S; P1 agrā-; P2 āgra-; M āśrāyani(r).
2 Kṛṣ, S; Ed., P2 viṣa-; M ṛṣīgaṇo; P1 viṣagakā.
3 So S; M -kīr; P2 meṣaḥ kar-; Ed. meṣāvir; with next, P1 meṣakiṭikā-; Kṛṣ meṣa kirātikā-.
4 P2 ita-; rest, iṭi-.
Nos. 5–25 are missing in all the sources except M1, M2; for the restorations, cf. K. & L., etc.
5 M udagrajā.
9 M śālāhaleyāḥ.
10 M kauriṣṭāḥ.
14 So M1; M2 -mṛgayāḥ.
15 So M1, and v.l. in M2; M2 śrotanā.
16 ? M1 bhojayāpanāḥ; M2 bhautapāyanāḥ; v.l. in M2, bhīmapā-.
21 M -nāḥ.
22 ? M gomayānā.
28 M kātyāyanāḥ.





26. Śatruhayo
27. Hṛdrogāś ca
25. Gavyāyanāḥ
29. Cakradharmī
30. Mahācakrī
33. Dākṣapāṇaya eva ca
31. †goṣṭāyano
32. hy akirayo
34. Hāstidāsis tathaiva ca
35. Vātsyapāṇir
37. Anyakṛtaḥ
36. Hāstalāyaninas tathā
39. Dhūmrāyaṇā
40. †pailamelir
41. Āśvavātāyanas tathā
42. Kauṣītakāḥ
43. †svāvatakā
44. Āgniśarmāyaṇāś ca ye
45. †meṣapāḥ
46. Kaikaseyaś ca
47. tathā caiva Subabhravaḥ
48. paulayo
49. jñānaradhāś ca
50. †āgneyāḥ sarva eva tu
51. śyāmodarā
52. vaivaśapās
53. tathā caivodbalāyanāḥ
54. kāṣṭāyanaś ca†
55. Mārīcā
56. Ājihāyana-
57. hāstikāḥ
58. Vaikarṇeyāḥ
59. Kāśyapāś ca
60. †sāsisā
61. Hāritāyanāḥ
62. Mātanga-
63. Somabhuvaś ca

These are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Vatsāra,[1] and Kaśyapa, and Nidhruva

26 ? M1 śākrayānāḥ; M2 śakrayanāḥ.
27 M1 barhiyoga-; M2 barhir yoga-.
25 (? against the metre) M gadāyanāḥ.
29 ? Cf. K. & L.; Ed. bhavanandī; P1, M, D1 bhavanandi(r); D2 bhavanadīḥ; P2 bhavatandi; Kṛṣ bhavana, dvi-.
30 So Ed.; P, M1 -kri; M2 -krir; Kṛṣ -maha, cakri.
33 Ed., M2 -pāyaṇa; S -māṇaya; M1 -pāyana; P1 -pāṇapa; P2 dākṣāṇāyāṇa; Kṛṣ dākṣiṇāyani.
31 So D2; P1 -yeno; P2 kroṣṭeyanā; S śreṣṭheyavā; Ed. grāṣṭeyanā; M yodhāyanāḥ; Sk gāṣṭhā-; R moṣṭā-.
32 So Ed., S, P2; P1 hy aki 'rāya; Kṛṣ hyakirapa; D kīriḥ; M kārtivayo.
34 So S; Ed., P2 -dās tu; P1 hastudātu; M hāstidānās; D hāstidaḥ; Kṛṣ hastida.
35 Restored; Ed., P2, M, Sk, R vātsyāyanā; S vātsatālma; Kṛṣ tata vātsya; D vātsyāyaniḥ.
37 ? Cf. K. & L.; Ed., M nikṛtajā; P2 lyanikṛto; P1 lyanikṛ only; S likṛdvatsa; Kṛṣ mālya bālākya tida.
36 Read -yanayas? P2 -yanimas; P1 -yanitas; D -yaniḥ; Kṛṣ hastalāyana; Ed., M hy āśvalāyaninas; S śvalāyaninas.
39 Restored; Ed. prāgrāyaṇaḥ; Kṛṣ prāgrāyaṇi; M, P1 prāgāyanāḥ; P2 prāyāyanāḥ.
40 So Ed., P2, R, Sk; M2 -maulir; M1 paulamaulir; Kṛṣ pailamaili; P1, D1 pailalebhiḥ; D2 paulalobhiḥ; P2 adds a second -meli.
41 So Ed., M; P2 -nis; Kṛṣ aśvā-; S āśvabāṇāyanis.
42 So Ed., R, Sk; D1, P2 kauśī-; D2 kauśi-; Kṛṣ kaupī-; M2 kauberakāś ca; M1 kauverakāś ca; S kauśāntakā; P1 omits nos. 42–51.
43 So Ed.; Kṛṣ svātāgni; P2 svāpaśāntā; D svāpaḥ; M śyākārā.
44 All, āgni-; Ed. -ṇiś; Kṛṣ kārmāyaṇa only.
45 So Ed., M; Kṛṣ maiṣara; D1 maiṣariḥ; D2 mauyariḥ; P2 maunakharaḥ; S mauṣīrapi.
46 ? P2 -ayās; Ed., M kaikarasapās; Kṛṣ kaikasāyana; S kaikipayā.
47 From here to the end of the family there is little to correspond in K. & L., which presumably is defective, and the names here are accordingly numbered independently. As always, the Matsya names must be looked on with suspicion when not confirmed by the other lists. Subabhravaḥ, conj.; P2 -yaḥ; Ed. sucabhrayaḥ; S śucibhrayaḥ; D1 vasuḥ babhruḥ; D2 vasuḥ yadbhu; M tu babhravaḥ; Kṛṣ vasubhra.
48 So P2, D, S; Ed. yau-; M prāceyo; Kṛṣ, with next, paulayajña.
49 So Ed., P2, D; M jñānasaṃjñeyā; Kṛṣ nana rādhas.
50 So P2 (but -yāḥ); Ed. ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M āgnā prāsevya eva ca; D1 agnāvaḥ sarvaḥ; D2 āprāvaḥ sarvaḥ; Kṛṣ āprāva sarva.
51, 52 So Ed., M; P2 śyāmo nāgaśirā yakṣas; D1 śyāmaḥ nāśiraḥ kṣapaḥ; D2 śyāmaḥ nāśoriḥ pakṣaḥ; Kṛṣ śyāma nāśiśaya; S śyāmātāśiśayaś caiva; P1 (after lacuna) sirāyās; cf. R, Sk nāgaśirasaḥ.
53 So M; Ed. tathā vailatvalāyanaḥ; P1 tathā paḍgoḍalā-; P2 tathā padgoḍalā-; D pangoḍalā-; Kṛṣ lala palāyana; R padroḍalā-.
54 So D2; D1, Kṛṣ -ṣṭh-; S, Ed., P1 kaṣṭā-; P2 kaṣāpanaś; M kāṣṭhāhāriṇa.
55 So P1, Ed., M; D1 -vaḥ; D2 mādīcaḥ; Kṛṣ mārīci; P2 mācīcā.
56 So all, except D2 ājihvā-; P1 -yenayā.
57 Kṛṣ hasti only; cf. perhaps K. & L. no. 49, in which case no. 59 belongs here also.
58 P2 vikarṇayāḥ; P1, Kṛṣ vikarṇaya.
59 Ed. kā-; M kāśyapeyāḥ.
60 S śā.
61 = K. & L. no. 51.
62 Conj., cf. K. & L. no. 52; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ mataṃsa; S gataṃsa; P1, D1 manasa; D2 manusakṣaḥ; M2 mātanginaś ca; M1 māntaginaś ca.
63 Conj., cf. K. & L. no. 53; Ed., Kṛṣ sāvabhṛgavas; P2 sāvavṛgavas; P1 sācabhṛgavas; M bhṛgavas only; D bhṛguḥ.

[1] So regularly (and *vatsāra*) the Matsya sources (although S here has *avatsāraḥ kaśyapaś ca*).

of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The Rebhas[1] and Sāṃkhyamitras are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Vatsāra, and Kaśyapa, and Raibha[2] of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Now I shall further tell those who are born in *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*-gotras:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ānaṣṭayo | 5. †sairuṣī | 9. †sāmrākiḥ |
| 2. Bhāgurayaḥ | 6. rodabarhiś ca | 10. †sāṭṭa- |
| 3. †tānayo | 7. sairandhri | 11. Piṅgākṣiḥ |
| 4. †rājavannayaḥ | 8. †ropasevakiḥ | 12. †sajātambis tathaiva ca |

These one must know to be Vasiṣṭhas by day, and Kaśyapas by night.[3] They are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Kaśyapa, and Vatsāra, and Vasiṣṭha of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. †sampātiś ca | 8? kardamo | 15. Kuhalo |
| 2. baliś cobhau | 9. Gardabhīmukhaḥ | 16. Vṛkakhaṇḍaś ca |
| 3. pippalo tha† | 10. Hiraṇyabāhu- | 23. Suketuś ca |
| 4. Jalaṃdharaḥ | 12. †kairātāv | 22. tathottaraḥ |
| 5, 6. †sujātapūraḥ | 13. ubhau kāśyapa-† | 18. Udameghas |
| 7. parvaś ca | 14. Gobhilau | 19. Tṛṇabindur |

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1 Cf. K. & L.; S ānu-; P2 anu-; P1 anuṣṭhayo; Ed. anuṣṭheyā; M1 anusūyo; M2 anasūyo; Kṛṣ anaṣṭaya.
2 ? Cf. K. & L.; M nākurayaḥ; P, D2, S bhākurayaḥ; D1 bhākuṭiḥ; Ed. bhikurayaḥ.
3 So Ed., P, D; S tātako; M snātapo.
4 So Ed., P1; P2 ră-; S pāja-; M -vartapăḥ; D1 -baliḥ; D2 -batriḥ; Kṛṣ -vahnaya.
5 So Ed.; D1, P1 sairiṣi; P2 sairiḥkhi; D2 sairaṣiḥ; M śaiśi; S saupatri.
6 So Ed.; P1 rodaviś ca; P2 rovaḥādoś ca; M rodavāhiś caiva; S rodavāhiś ca; D audavāhiḥ.
8 So M1; M2 raupa-; S rodhasāvakiḥ; Ed. rūpavatsakiḥ; P ropavatsakiḥ; D2 aupavatsakiḥ; D1 aupakatsakiḥ; Kṛṣ sāvaki.
9 So Ed., D1; P1, D2 sāmnākiḥ; P2 sābhrākṣiḥ; Kṛṣ sāmāki; S sāmrākṣis; M yāmuniḥ.
10 So Ed., S, D2; D1 sādyaḥ; P2 sāda; M kādru; P1 sāpada; Kṛṣ sāda- (joined with next).
11 P1 piṣyāgāpiṣyā.
12 So Ed., M2; M1 -vis; P2 tyajātabis; P1 styajātaṃvis; D2 khajātapiḥ sautapā iti; D1 sajātapiḥ sauṣataḥ iti; Kṛṣ sājātavi.

1 M samyātis; all the others -pātiś; the *ca* presumably belongs to no. 2, cf. the other lists.
2 So Ed., P2, Kṛṣ; P1, D1 valiḥ; D2 baliḥ; S baliś cātha; M nabhaś cobhau.
3 So Ed., P2; M -lyo'tha; P1 pippālo tha; Kṛṣ pippala.
4 So Ed., P2, M; P1 jalodhakaḥ; Kṛṣ dhavala dhara.
5, 6 So P; D1 sujāti-; D2 sujātaḥ pūraḥ; M bhu-; Kṛṣ sujota para; Ed. suṃjotamāna; S sujoghapūrvaḥ.
7 So Ed., P; M pūryaś ca; S pūrvaś ca; Kṛṣ pūrva; D paryaśva.
8 So all, except P2 gardabho, S gardabhir.
9 S -bhā-; Kṛṣ gārdabhimuṣa.
13 So M; rest, kă-.
14 So M, P1; P2 śobhinau; Ed. śobhanau.
15 So P1; S kulijo; rest kulaho.
16 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed. vṛṣa-; M vṛṣakaṇḍaś; P1 vṛṣaṣaḍaś; P2 vṛṣadaṇḍaś; Kṛṣ vṛṣakunda; S vṛṣagaṇḍaś.
23 So D; S, P2 mṛgetuś ca; P1 bhṛgetuś ca; Ed., M mṛgaketus; Kṛṣ mṛgetu.
18, 19 Conj., the second name, however, being less certain, cf. Mān., W; M nidāghamasṛṇau bha(r)tsyā; for no. 18, Ed. tadapāsa; P tadaposa; D tadapāṃsaḥ; S tadapoś ca; Kṛṣ tadapa; for no. 19, Ed. svavasavo; P2 sṛvatsoya; S sṛvatsoma; P1 svavasvoga; Kṛṣ sasṛvatsya; D svavasuḥ.

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[1] Restored; Ed., P *naihāsyă-*; read *raibhāś ca*. M omits this family.
[2] Restored; Ed., P *nidhruvaś ca*; read *raibhaś caiva*.
[3] *divā vasiṣṭhā ity ete naktaṃ jñeyāś ca kaśyapāḥ*; in spite of noting the reading *divā vasiṣṭhā* in a footnote, M2 follows M1 in the absurd reading *divā vaṣṭāśva ity ete bhaktyā*, etc.





| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21. †mahakairalayāś ca ye | 27. Saudānavo | 29. †tauvariva |
| 25. Śāṇḍilā | 17. Devajātayaḥ | †ṛṣayo parikīrtitāḥ |
| 26. Vaidānava- | 28. Paippalādis | |

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Āsita, and Devala, and Kaśyapa of great austerity. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The whole entire world was the offspring of the pre-eminent *ṛṣi* Kaśyapa by the daughters of Dakṣa, O lion among men. What further shall I now tell you, O king?

*Puruṣottama comments:*

The various gaṇas of the Kaśyapas have no intermarriage, because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Kaśyapa occurs, either actually or implicitly, in all the pravaras, and from the fact that of three *ṛṣis* two coincide. Since the Laugākṣis belong to two gotras, they have no intermarriage with either the Kaśyapas or the Vasiṣṭhas.

Baudhāyana gives four alternative pravaras for the Śaṇḍilas, viz. 'Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śāṇḍila', 'K. Ā. Daivala', 'K. Ā. Āsita', and 'Śāṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala'. Āpastamba gives two alternatives, 'Daivala, Āsita', and 'Kāśyapa, Daivala, Āsita'. Now, in these six pravaras, five *ṛṣi*-names in all appear. Therefore (one might think), the Śaṇḍilas should have a five-*ṛṣi* pravara 'K. Ā. Śāṇḍila, Daivala, Āsita', in accordance with the scriptural precepts, 'He chooses hymn-composers, according to his family (*yatharṣi*)', and 'He chooses as many as are hymn-composers'. Also, Kātyāyana says: 'He recites the *ārṣeyas* of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards; or else as many as are hymn-composers.' Nevertheless, a five-*ṛṣi* pravara is given here by none of the Sūtra-authors. Therefore the alternatives are to be considered as applying to separate families who are united only in their name of Śaṇḍila. For if these were only the one family, the five-*ṛṣi* pravara would be proper.

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21 So Ed., P2; D1 -ko-; D2 -kau-; S mahaḥ koraṇayāś; M mahāntaḥ kevalāś ca ye.
25 So p; M, Kṛṣ -lyo.
26 So Ed., P; M dānavaś caiva; Kṛṣ vaidāyana.
27 Ed. so-; P2 tyau-; P1 saurānavo; Kṛṣ saudanava samahākāra lala; M has only the particles, tathā vai (admittedly the reading in the text offends against the caesura).
17 So M; Ed. vedapātayaḥ; P1, Kṛṣ vedayātavaḥ; P2 dapātavaḥ; D1 vedayātiḥ; D2 vedapāttiḥ.
28 So P, M2, Kṛṣ; M1 -dit; Ed. pipp-.
29 So Ed.; P1 tovaripa; P2 toyavāhyā; Kṛṣ stauvari; M sapravarā. For ṛṣayo parikīrtitāḥ (so M, P2) which is in any case dubious, Ed., P1 have ṛṣir vā parikīrtităḥ.

## CHAPTER VII

# THE VASIṢṬHAS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

WE shall explain the one-*ṛṣi* 'Vasiṣṭhas':

1. Vaikalir
2. Vārāṭakiḥ
3. Sākhalā
4. Gauriśravasa
5. Āśvalāyanāḥ
6. Kapiṣṭhalāḥ
7. Śaucivṛkṣā
8. Vyāghrapādo
9. Vāhyakāyanir
10. Vāṭavyā
10*a*. [gāyani
10*b*. nayāptā]
11. Jātūkarṇyā
12. Auḍulomiḥ
13. Kaubhojiḥ
14. Kaulāyanāḥ
15. Sundaraharitāḥ
16. Kāṇṭheviddhiḥ
17. Saumanasāyanā
18. Ālambhāyanā
19. Laumāyanyā
20. Svastyā
21. Kārṣitāḥ
22. Pārṇakāyanāś
23. Cauḍakāyanāḥ
24. Pārṇavalko
25. Devanā

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1 ? So M, T, Bu, S; cf. K. & L., vaigala?; Be, U vaitaraki; Ed., P vaitalaki; D vaitālakiḥ; R, Sk (and G?) vaitālakavaya(ḥ).
2 So M, T, Caland, cf. gaṇa *gahādi*; Bu vāṭālaki; Be, U vāṭārakiḥ; P1 vāharaki; P2 vāṭaraki; Ed. vāṭharaki; S vāśaraki; D2 vāhakiḥ; D1 harakiḥ; G, R rakayaḥ; Sk kara-kavayaḥ.
3 So Be, U, P, R, D2; D1 sāvakhāḥ; Ed. sāśvalā; Sk sākhalyā; cf. perhaps K. & L. no. 5, sātvalāyana.
4 Sk -sā.
6 So S, Sk, D1; R -ṣṭhulāḥ; Ed. vapisvān; D2 -ṣṭināḥ; P2 kapisvān; P1, B kapiṣṭ(h)āḥ; cf. the other lists.
7 D sauci-; Ed., P, R, Sk sauvi-.
8 So Ed., D, R, Sk; P2 -pādī; P1 vyaḥ grapado; B vyāghrapādayo; Caland emends to vaiyāghrapādya (for which also cf. Mān. and W), but this is not really necessary; cf. Vyāghrapad-Vasiṣṭha, the *ṛṣi* of RV 9. 97, 16–18.
9 Cf. gaṇa *tikādi*; manuscripts indiscriminately vā-, bā-; S bāhākāyaniḥ; D1 kāmyakāyani.
10 So B, D2; D1 vāṭakyaḥ; S nāṭṭavyā; instead of this A gives nos. 10*a* and 10*b*, the first of which is clearly a dittography of no. 9, while the second is a variant of no. 10 itself.
10*a* So Ed., R, Sk, D; P1 -ner; P2 gāpaner.
10*b* So Ed., D1; P2, R nayāvyā; P1 napātpā; Sk navāvyāḥ; D2 napātyaḥ; for these, Be, U have aupavanā aupagavā, which are certainly surprising here; cf. K. & L., etc.
11 B jātukarṇā.
12 So D1, Caland, who compares the Schol. to Vārt. 8, Pāṇ. 4. 1. 85; G, T, Bu -maḥ; M aulomiḥ; S autululomiḥ; P2 audhomi; Ed. audhrome; P1 audhnomi; D2 auḍa-; R odhroyayaḥ; Sk raudhnāmayaḥ.
13 So B, P2, D, R, Sk; P1 kṣau-; Ed. ko-.
14 Ed. ko-; S pau-.
15 So Be, U, Caland, but very dubious; possibly we should read two names, sundā haritāḥ, as does R (the other lists have a Harita); Ed., P1 sundaharitāḥ; P2, D1 sudahar-; Sk suvāhār-; D2 saṃdahar-; S munda-; B muda-.
16 So corrected by Caland (and cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 81); Ed., R, P, Be, U kāṇḍevṛddhi; S, D kāṇḍavṛddhiḥ; M, G, T kāndeviddhiḥ; Sk kāndavṛddhadvayaḥ.
17 Conj., cf. the other lists; G, Caland sauyavasā-; T saudhavasā-; S sādhusā-; P1, D1 saupavasā-; D2 sauvyavasāyinaḥ; Ed., P2 sopavatsāyaja; Sk saupavatsā-; R soyavatsā; Be, U upavatsā-.
18 Sk ālābh-; S jā-.
19 So emended by Caland, cf. gaṇa *kuñjādi*, and the other lists; Be, U, Ed., P, S lomanyā; R, Sk lomāyatyāḥ; D1 lomāyanaḥ; D2 loma-patayaḥ; B lomahanyāḥ (strictly, however, the termination -āyanya should become -āyanāḥ in the plural, cf. Pāṇ. 4. 1. 98; 5. 3. 113; 2. 4. 62.
20 D1 svatyaḥ.
21 ? A kārṣitaḥ; D1 kārīṣitaḥ; D2 kārīṣityaḥ; M kāririṣayakṣitāḥ; G pāriraksitāḥ; T kārīṣayaḥ kṣitāḥ; Bu kāruṣatayaḥ; S kāruruksitāḥ.
22 Be, U, P1 parṇa-; Sk pārṣṇi-.
23 So B; S yola-; A omits.
24 So A (D2, Be, U pā-); M, G, Bu pāriṇa-vatko; T pariṇavatko.
25 So S, A (except Be, U devara-); Bu devata-; M, G, T daivā; R has here devanā, and before no. 22, deyanma.





26. Gauravyāḥ
27. Śrāviṣṭhāyanā
28. Vāhakathaya
29. Āvikṣitayo
30. 'śvayājayāḥ
31. Pūtimāṣāḥ
32. Saptavailā
33. Vāsiṣṭhā iti

These are Vasiṣṭhas. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha', etc.

1. Kuṇḍinā
2. Lohāyanā
3. Guggulir
4. Aupasvasthā
5. Vaikarṇaya
6. †āvikhā
7. Badaro
8. (A)śmarathā
9. Bāhavaḥ
10. †kraunkolyāḥ
11. Sāmangalinaḥ
12. Kāpaṭavaḥ
13. Paiṭhakā
14. Navagrāmā
15. Hiraṇyākṣāyaṇāḥ
16. Paippalādayo
17. bhākṣir
18. Mādhyaṃdināḥ
19. Śāntiḥ
20. †saupakṣir iti

These are Kuṇḍinas. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya', etc.

---

26 So A; M, G kodivyā; T kodīpyāḥ; Bu kātavyāḥ; S konuvyā.
27 So B; Caland's comparison of Kāty. (W) is very dubious, since there the name occurs among the Parāśaras; it is, however, note-worthy that in that place Baudh. alone diverges widely from the other accounts; Be, U aśvaviśvāyanā; Ed., P1 (-ś ca) viśvāvanā; P2, R, Sk, D viśvāyanaḥ.
28 So A; S vahāpayaḥ; G vāhakāyā; M, T, Bu omit.
29 So M, G, T, D; Bu ādhi-; S ākṣipayo; A avākitayo.
30 ? So Caland; Be, U śvayājayāḥ; M, G, T śvapādayaḥ; Bu āsvapadāyaḥ; S vaśyaṭapayo; Ed., P1 vasvapājayāḥ; P2 vasvamājayāḥ; R, Sk vasvayājayāḥ; D svapājiḥ.
31 R haṃtimāṣāḥ.
32 So M, G, T; Ed., P1, D1 -velā; P2 saptave only; D2 sṛtyavelaḥ; R saptavalo; Sk sama-veṣāḥ; Bu -veḷakāḥ.

1 Sk kuṇḍijāḥ.
2 Sk (and G?) lohitāyanaḥ.
3 So Ed., D1, T; R, Sk, Be, U plural; D2 gugulih; S gulmali; Bu -luḥ; G -lā; P1 yugāli; P2 jagjuli.
4 Conj., cf. the other lists; Ed., P2, D1 aśvattha; P1 aśvaththa; M, G aupaśvathi; T aupaśvadhi; Be, U -śvattha; R (')śvatthā (not śvaptyā); S tāpaścathyau; Caland, aupa-vastir ('after Mān.', which, however, has aupasvastiḥ).
5 So Ed., R, Be, U, S; P2 ve-; P1 -ayā; D1 tai-; cf. Schol. to Pāṇ. 4. 1. 124; if I understand Caland's note aright, the B-group of manu-scripts read in this place: M, G, Bu bhin-dava(ḥ); T hradabhindava.
6 So (or with -khā) Be, U, P; Ed. āviśva; S āvila; M, G, T ābal(l)ā; Bu bilva; D1 tinduḥ; R aupasyaṃsthā (cf. no. 4).
7 So B, S, Ed.; P1 ladaśe; P2 varo; Be, U daya; D1 aciravalaḥ.
8 So Be, U; Ed., D1 -thyaḥ; P2 -tho; P1, B -tha-.
9 Indiscriminately bā-, vā-; Be, U bāhavayaḥ.
10 So Ed., P2, Sk (and p); P1 kaukrokya; R kraumkrolyāḥ; D1 kaukrolyaḥ; M, G kauklokāḥ; T kaukyokāḥ; Bu kautroḍhā; Be, U, Caland krauñcokyaḥ.
11 So B; D1 sāmangaliḥ; Be, U sālinganāḥ; P1, Ed. sāngalinaḥ; P2 sāgitenāḥ; R, Sk sāṃgatinaḥ.
12 M, A (but P, Sk with -ṭh-); G, T kār-paṭavaḥ; Bu kāpaṭaḥ.
13 So Be, U, G, cf. gaṇa *śivādi*; P2, R, Sk petha-; P1, D peṭa-; M paiṭhaya; T paṭhaso; Bu paiṭhaḥ.
14 M, G, T -grāmyā; R -trāmā.
15 So A (but except Ed. hiraṇyākayāḥ); S, T -ākṣāḥ; Bu ākṣaḥ; M, G -ākṣiḥ.
17 So B; S bhāḥ kakṣi; cf. perhaps K. & L., etc., akṣatayaḥ; Be, U, P1 bhājyakṣi; Ed. bhājyakir; P2 bhānyakṣi; D, R and Sk seem to add another name—D1 saugiḥ akṣitaḥ; D2 śauṇḍiḥ akṣitaḥ; R saugayokṣitā; Sk saugaṃyekṣitā.
18 M, G, T -niḥ; Be, U, P -na.
19 P syā-; D (after no. 20) svātiḥ.
20 So Be, U, D1; P1 sopakṣir; D2 saupa only; P2 somapakṣir; R saumayakṣayaḥ; Sk somayakṣayaḥ; M, G, T, Caland saupatithir; B saupayiyaḥ; S saubadarir.

1. Upamanyava
2. Aupagavā
3. Māṇḍalekhayaḥ
4. Kāpiñjalā
5. Jālāgatās
6. Tapolokās
7. Traivarṇāś caiva
8. Pārṇāgāriḥ
9. Surākṣarāḥ
10. Śailālayo
11. Mahākarṇāyanā
12. Bālaśikhā
13. Audgāhamānayo
14. Bālāyanā
15. Bhāgavittāyanāḥ
16. Kuṇḍodarāyaṇā
17. Lākṣmaṇeyāḥ
18. †kāvādhayo
19. Vārkāśvakaya
20. Ānṛkṣarābhā
21. Ālambāyanāḥ
22. Kapikeśā iti

These are Upamanyus. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya'.[1]

Parāśarāḥ

1. Kāṇḍūśayā
2. vājayo
3. vājantayo
4. Vaimatāyanāḥ
5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ

M omits the Upamanyus.
2 Sk, R, G audalayāḥ.
3 Ed., P māṇḍ-; P2 -leśayaḥ; T -rekhayaḥ; Bu -nekhayaḥ.
4 Cf. gaṇa *śivādi*; Be, U, Ed., P2 kāp-.
5 So A (except D2 jālaṃgataḥ, P1 gata only, R gatās only—haplography with preceding); S jālāgava; G -grahā; T grāhā; Bu jālājāḥ.
6 So Be, U, R, Sk, D2, P2; Ed., P1, D1 jayo-; G jalankā; T talahakā; Bu gṛhapatiḥ lākāḥ; S hayo lokās.
8 So Caland, cf. the other lists; T parṇā-; Bu pāhyā-; G parṇagāni; Be, U yāstagirayaḥ; Ed., P2 pāstāgiri; P1 āṣāstāgiriḥ; Sk parṇagirayaḥ; R pāryāgirayaḥ; D1 pāṣāgiriḥ; D2 pārśāgiriḥ; S (-ś cāhlā) vahlyangārās.
9 So B; S svarā-; Be, U, P, R sārā-; Sk sādā-; D1 surākṣaḥ sārāsaḥ; D2 surākṣaḥ sāraḥ.
10 So Bu, cf. the other lists; S śailāhalino; G, T jālā-; Be, U, R, P2 maulā-; P1 molā-; Ed. molāyo; Sk saulā-; D1 lāhaviḥ; D2 khārāhaliḥ.
11 R, Sk -kaṇvā-.
12 ba- and va- indiscriminately; S dābākhā.
13 So T, cf. gaṇa *pailādi* and the other lists; Ed., P2 audā-; G, Bu, S, D2 auddā- (audvā-); Sk audgahanāyanāḥ; D1 audgāhayāniḥ; P1 audāhamāhayo; R aumāhayaḥ; after this, R repeats nos. 3–6, ending (cf. no. 7) with traidgāhamānaś.
14 So B; A val-, bal- (P2 cal-).
15 So S, D1, R, Sk, cf. the other lists; D2 bhāgavilāyanaḥ; Ed., P bhāguristhāyanāḥ; G, T bhāgurithyāyanāḥ; Be, U bhāgurikthāyanāḥ; Caland bhāguritthāyanā; the other lists without question support the reading in the text, but the preponderant authority here for bhāguri- is surprising, and we may suspect a telescoping of two names, bhāgurāyaṇa and bhāgavittāyana (the former also occurring in the other lists); after no. 17 S has vitthāyanāḥ.
16 Be, U kuṇḍino-; P2 kuṇḍinodadāyaṇā; P1 kuḍorāya; D2 kuṇḍovanayaḥ.
17 Cf. gaṇa *śubhrādi*.
18 So P, D1; D2 kābādhiḥ; Ed. kāvāndhayo; S kāsāvayo; Be, U kacadhaya; G kācāntayo; T kācārudho; B kācāntakayaḥ; Sk vāhyakeyo; R vāhyakayo.
19 So G; T vāka-; Bu vakrāḥ cakrayaḥ; S varkāśvakiyaḥ; Be, U, Ed. vārkāśvaya; P1 vādhāṃkāṃsvaya; P2 vārkkaścaya; D1 vākāśviḥ; D2 vākvīśviḥ.
20 Conj.; Be, U, Caland ānṛkṣarāyaṇā; G anṛkṣarā; T anṛchābhā; Bu anṛkṣarabhaḥ; S anṛksaravā; P2 ākṣarabhya; P1 cānukṣarabhya (P1 omits from here to before ābharadvāsuvatṛ (*sic*) in the Adhvaryu's pravara); D1 anukṣariḥ; D2 abhubhariḥ; Ed. āsakṣaraya.
21 Cf. the other lists; D2 ālaṃvā-; D1 ālavā-; R, P2, Be, U ālavacāḥ; Ed. ālavayaḥ; S āravavāḥ; Caland ālabavāḥ; G ārabavāḥ; T ārabacāḥ; Bu āraśvabhāḥ.
22 T kāpi-.

1 So G, R; Be, U (*not* Pn) kaṇḍu-; M kadvaṃśayo; T, S kadvaśayo; Bu kaṭhvavaṃśayaḥ; P1 kadu-; P2 kuhu-; Ed. kuhuṃśayo; Sk kāṇḍa-; D1 kaṇḍūḥ śi-; D2 kandrūśiḥ.
2 So A (except R vājiyo); there is an error in the numbering of Caland's notes here, and the readings for this name have been omitted; S vājiyo; D vājiḥ.
3 So B; S vājijiyo; Be, U, Ed., P2, R, Sk vājimantayo; P1 vāmitayo; D vājimatiḥ.
4 So Ed., P1, cf. gaṇa *arīhaṇādi*; B -nir; G vaimantāyanir; S maimatāyanir; P2 vaivatyā-; R matāyanā only; Sk, D1 bhaima-; D2 bhaimatāpanaḥ.
5 So B; A govā- (except Ed., grāvāvir; D2 govalir); S gopāyanir.

[1] Bu, Caland, *ābharadvasaveti*.





6. Prārohayo
7. Vaikalayaḥ
8. Plākṣayaḥ
9. Kaumudādayaḥ
10. Hāryaśvir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ

11. Khalyāyanayo
12. †gopayaḥ
13. kālkayaḥ
14. śyātayātayaḥ
15. vāruṇir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete (A)ruṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ

16. bhālukyā
17. Bādariś caiva
18. †kāhvāyana
19. kaukuśālayaḥ
20. kṣaumatir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Nīlāḥ Parāśarāḥ

21. Kṛṣṇājināḥ
22. †kapisukhāḥ
23. śyāmāyanayaḥ
24. śvetayūpayaḥ
25. Pauṣkarasādir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Śvetāḥ Parāśarāḥ

26. †vāśyāyanayo
27. Vārṣṇeyāḥ
28. Śyāmeyāḥ
29. †ślaunihiḥ saha
30. caulir† eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Śyāmāḥ Parāśarāḥ

6 So B, D1; R, Sk prāge-; D2 pārohi; Be, U, P prarohayo; Ed. parokartho.
7 So R, Sk, P2, D1; P1 -yoḥ; Be, U -yāḥ; Ed. vaikarayāḥ; B vaitaleyaḥ; D2 vākāliḥ.
8 So P2, D, R, B; P1 -yāḥ; Be, U, Sk plakṣayaḥ; Ed. khādāyaḥ.
9 So B, P2; Be, U kaumuḍā-; P1 kaumudāyo; Sk kaukucādayo; R kaujavādayo; D1 kaumudiḥ; D2 kaumadiḥ; Ed. prāmudāttayo.
10 So P1, D1, R, Sk; Be, U -ści-; B -śrī-; D2 kā-; P2 hāyaśir; Ed. haryaśva.
11 So M, G, T, D; Bu kalyāyanaḥ; Be, U kalpā-; P1, R kalyā-; Sk kātyāḥ panayo; P2 kalyāḥ panayo; Ed. tulyoyanayo.
12 So T, R, D, Ed.; Sk gopeyāḥ; P2, Be, U gopanayaḥ; P1 goprāyaḥ; S gopāyanayaḥ; M, G, Bu gopavayaḥ.
13 All of A omit; Bu kālkayaḥ; M kalkapaḥ; G kālkadhaḥ; T kāklayaḥ; S omits; D1 kākliḥ; D2 vahliḥ. It is probable that this and the following name are misplaced here, cf. the other lists among the group beginning with Kṛṣṇājināḥ (nos. 23, 24).
14 So M, Bu; G śyāmayā-; T syātayā-; Be, U śātayo; Ed., P, R syātayo; Sk sthānayo; S syātaya ātaya; D1 syātiḥ; D2 śāntiḥ.
15 So all (except R -ṇavo, D2 -ṣiḥ); but cf. the other lists.
16 So all (except Sk bhālarvāḥ).
17 So B, D; A vājariś caiva (P2 vājaliś).
18 So M, G, S, Be, U, D1; Ed. krāhva-; P2 krahvā-; R krahva-; P1 kāhnā-; T kāṇva-; Bu kāṇvāyāḥ; D2 kṛṣṭāyaniḥ.
19 So G; Bu -śā-; T kekaukuśā-; M kekaukakuśā-; Be, U kraunkulayaḥ; D1 kraunkuśāriḥ; D2 kraunkuśāliḥ; Ed., R kraukulayaḥ; P1 kaukuleyaḥ; P2 kraukalayaḥ; S kānuśātavaḥ.
20 So S; Bu -miti; M, G kṣaimitir; Ed., R krau-; P2 kau-; D1, Sk krai-; P1 kraimatār; D2 krauyaniḥ; T saimiti; Be, U kaumiti.
21 D1 -janiḥ.
22 So R; Sk kā-; Ed., P1, D -mukhāḥ; Be, U papimukhāḥ; P2 -surapāḥ; M, G kāpiśubhrāḥ; T kāpisaśruḥ; Bu kārpāḥ śubhrāḥ.
23 So Bu, S, D; Be, U, Ed., P1 svāsyāpanayaḥ; R, P2 svāsyāyanyaḥ; Sk svāpyāyanayaḥ; M śyāmānataya; T śāmātāyā; G śyāmāḥ only; nos. 23 and 24 should be interchanged with nos. 13 and 14, cf. the other lists.
24 Although all the sources here have śveta-, comparison with the other lists suggests we should read bailva-; Ed., R, Sk, D1, B -yūpayaḥ; Be, U -pūrayaḥ; P1 -mūpayaḥ; P2 -dārayaḥ; D2 śvetamayūpiḥ; S -rūpayaḥ.
25 M, T pauṣkala-.
26 So Caland; but probably we should read āviṣṭhāyana, with the other lists, although none of the sources here give much indication of such a reading; M, G vāśyānayo; T pāśyāyanayo; S vātsyāyanayo; Be, U mā(or bhā)rgāyanayo; Ed., D gārgyāyanayo; P1 gārgyāyanavo; Sk gārgyādayaḥ; R gārgya/yanas; P2 gārgāyaniyo (all these with dental -n-).
27 So B, S, D1; Ed. vārṇyayaḥ; Be, U, P vārṇayaḥ; Sk nārṇeyaḥ; R tarṇeyaḥ; D2 dhorṣṭupaḥ.
28 So A, S; M, G śyātamyeyāḥ; T śataṃmeyā; cf. gaṇa *śubhrādi*; P1 omits from this name to the word tryārṣeyaḥ.
29 So P2; Ed. ślo-; D2 srotuhiḥ saha; D1 śrautahiḥ saha-; S śaugilis saha; Be, U ślautuhi; M ślaubibhiḥ; G śaubibhiḥ; T pauthibhiḥ; R srautuhayaḥ saha; Sk śrautuhavo; Caland śrautibhiḥ saha.
30 So B, P2, R, D; Ed. vaulir; S coli.

The Kṛṣṇa, Gaura, Aruṇa, Nīla, Śveta, and Śyāma Parāśaras have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya', etc.

There is no intermarriage among any of the Vasiṣṭhas.[1]

## B. *Āpastamba*

Except for the Parāśaras,[2] the Vasiṣṭhas have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha', etc. But some give 'Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ābharadvasavya',[3] etc.

The Parāśaras have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya', etc.

The Kuṇḍinas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya', etc.

The Saṃkṛti-Pūtimāṣas[4] have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Śāktya, Sāṃkṛtya, Gaurivīta', etc.

## C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

We shall explain the Vasiṣṭhas.

The Vasiṣṭhas have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras, Kuṇḍinas, and Jātūkarṇyas.

*W and Mān.*

vasiṣṭhān vyākhyāsyāmo:
vasiṣṭhānām ekārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati ye 'nya upamanyu-parāśarebhyaḥ kuṇḍinebhyaś ca.

| | *W and Mān.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Vyāghrapadā | 1. Vaiyāghrapadyā | |
| 2. Aupavanā | 2. ... | |
| | *W* | *Mān.* |
| 3. Aupagavā | 3. Aupagavāḥ | 3. Aupagavā |
| 4. Vaigalāḥ | 4. ... | 4. vaigrayaḥ |
| 5. Sātvalāyanāḥ | 5. kulāyanāḥ | 5. sāsāmalāyanā⟨ḥ⟩ |
| 6. Kapiṣṭhalā | 6. Kapiṣṭhalā | 6. Kapiṣṭhalā |
| 7. Audulomā | 7. Auḍuloma‿ | 7. Auḍuloma‿ |

D2, in addition to the Pravara-darpaṇa text, gives a literal account of the Sūtra-text; the readings in the latter are referred to as D2*a*.
1 P1 vyāpra-; P2 -pādā.
2 R auparatā; D1 vataḥ.
4 So P2; Ed. veg-; P1, D, S naig-; D2*a* kaiṃdhaigalā.
5 So Ed., D1, R, D2*a*; P satva-; D2 svatva-; Sk sātva-.
6 D2*a*, P2 -ṣṭalā.
7 So D1, R, cf. Baudh. no. 12; D2, Sk auda-; Ed., D2*a* auḍa-; P2 anu-; S auḍulomā; P1 yadulaumā.

*W*

6 kapiṣṭalā.
7 udaloma‿.

*Mān.*

1 vaighāghrapadyā.
3 opa-.
6 kapistalā.
7 oṃ ṭaloma‿.

[1] This last sentence appears in Ed. and P1 only.
[2] Rm (Satyāṣāḍha), 'Except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras and Kuṇḍinas'.
[3] Garbe, *ābharadvaso iti*; so also Satyāṣāḍha.
[4] Cf. the other lists among the Kevala Angirases. Satyāṣāḍha gives *saṃkṛti-pūtimāṣa-taṇḍināṃ*.





| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 8. Āśvalāyanā | 8. Āśvalāyanā | 8. Āśvalāyana- |
| 9. Vaṭīkarā | 9. †śvaṭāraka- | 9. vaiṭārakā |
| 10. Gopāyanā | 10. golāyatā | 10. gogeyanā |
| 11. Baudhayaś ca | 11. bodhakāś | 11. Baudhāyanāś |
| 12. vākavyā | 12. caḍākathotha- | 12. cūḍākavyāyanā |
| 13. atha Vāhyakṛt | 13. bākyaki- | 13. atha vāhyakī |
| 14. †kīlīvyayaḥ | 14. Jātūkarṇyā | 14. Jātūkarṇyā |
| 15. Palāśayo | 16. Haritayo | 16. Haritayo |
| 16. Haritayo | 17. 'thāyāgapayaś ca | 17. 'tho yāṃkarayaḥ śvaye |
| 17. Vākurayaś ca ye | 18. Āyaḥsthūṇāḥ | 18. Āyaḥsthūṇāḥ [*sic*] |
| 18. Āyaḥsthūṇāḥ | 19. Śucivṛkṣā | 19. Śucivṛkṣā |
| 19. Śucivṛkṣā | 20. Laumāyanyā | 20. Laumāyanya- |
| 20. Laumāyanyāḥ | brahma- | brahmavādi- |
| 21. Brahmapureyāḥ | | brahmakṛdeya- |
| 22. Svastikarāḥ | brahmavileya- | brahmavideya- |
| 23. Kāṇṭheviddhi- | brahmakileya- | brahmavileyaḥ |
| 24. māṇḍuli- | 22. Svastikara- | 22. Svastikaraḥ |
| 25. grudhili- | 23. Kāṇṭheviddhi- | 23. Kāṇṭheviddhi |
| 26. vauvili- | 24. maṇṭi | 24. mandi- |
| 27. mālohadhi- | 25. vauli | 25. cauli- |
| | 26. mauli | 26. caulikā |
| | rāmaṇi | |
| | kauli | |
| | cauli | |
| | 27. kālohati- | 27. kālohalī |

8 P1 singular.
9 So Ed., P1, D; S, P2 vaṭhī-; D2*a* -kārā.
10 D2 -niḥ; S maupā-; P2 gopāyalāyanā.
11 So S; D2 baudhayiḥ; D1 dhauvapiḥ; Ed., P1 vauvayaś; P2 vaupayaś; D2*a* vauvayaśvā; R, Sk dhovayo.
12 So Ed., P2, D2*a*; D2, P1 nākavya; S śakaṭavyājava.
13 ? Cf. Baudh. no. 9; Ed. atha satvabāhyakṛt; P1 satvavādyukrīt; P2 satvavāhyakṛt; D2*a* athā 'atha satvaṃvāhyakrt; S śatyavāhyakṛt; D satvaḥ vāhyakṛt (D2 bāhya-); R vāhyakṛtaḥ.
14 So Ed., P2; D2 kīlīhariḥ; D1 kālohaviḥ; D2*a* krālīthayaḥ; P1 kiliyama; S kārāvayava.
15 So Ed., P1, D; P2 pāla-; D2 pālīyaḥso; S pārāśayo; R, Sk pālisayā.
16 So Ed., P; D2*a* hā-; S haritakayo.
17 ? So Ed., P1; S vāṃkurayaś ca ye; D2*a* vākuraś ca ye; P2 kurayaś ca ye; D1 kākuriḥ; D2 bahuriḥ; R, Sk vāgrathayā.
18 Restored, cf. gaṇas *śivādi*, *yaskādi*; R, Sk, D āpaḥ-; Ed., P āyasthūlāḥ; D2*a* āyakthalāḥ; S jayamālāḥ.
19 Restored, cf. Mān., W, and Baudh. no. 7; Ed., P, D1 śiti-; S śini-; D2 śitivakṣyaḥ; D2*a* siti-.
20 Cf. Baudh. no. 19; Ed., P2, lom-; P1 lomāyānyā; D2*a* lomāya āḥ; S tāmāyanyaḥ.
22 R, Sk svastikāḥ.
23 Cf. Baudh. no. 16; D2*a* kāṭe-; Ed. kāṇḍe-; S kāṇḍa-; P1 kāṇḍividhi; P2 kāṇḍevidi.
24 ? So Ed., P, D1, S; D2, D2*a* māṇḍali; R, Sk pāṇḍulayo.
25 ? So Ed., P, R, S; D2*a* go-; D1 gaudhaliḥ; D2 godhuliḥ; Sk gauṣilayo; before this name, S adds veḍili.
26 ? So P1, R; P2 vauvivili; Ed. vauvivi; D1 kauvidhiḥ; D2 bauvili; D2*a* vodhidhūli; S gaivili.
27 So Ed., R; P1 maudhi; P2 golohadhi; D2 mālohaviḥ; D2*a* gālohadhi; D1 mālohadiḥ; S gālohadi.

*W*

15 hārītayo.
18 pyāyasthūṇāḥ.
20 lomāyayanī.
23 kaṇṭevidhi.

*Mān.*

8 āśvāyanā.
11 vau-.
15 harītayo.
18 ayasthūṇāḥ.
19 śuciḥ vṛkṣo.
20 ḷo-.
22 svastiṃkaraḥ.
23 kaṇṭevidvir.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 28. Saumanasāyana- | 28. Saumanasāyana- | 28. Saumanasāyanir āvaṇi |
| 29. Brahmavali- | | |
| 30. cauli | | 30. cauli |
| 31. Gauriśravasa- | 31. Gauriśravasa‿Ārjunākṣi‿iti | 31. Gauriśravasa‿Ārjunākṣā iti |
| 32. Yājñavalkyāḥ | | |
| 33. Pārṇavalkyā iti | | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Śailālayo | 1. Śailālayo | 1. Śailālayo |
| 2. Mahākarṇi- | 2. Mahākarṇā⟨ḥ⟩ | 2. Mahākarṇā⟨ḥ⟩ |
| 3. Kauravyās | 3. Kauravyāyaṇā | 3. Kauravyā |
| 4. Traivarṇāḥ | | 4. athātraiparṇā⟨ḥ⟩ |
| 5. Kapiñjalā | | 5. Kapiñjalā |
| 6. †dāvālasevī | | 6. dāvalaśīkhī |
| 7. Bhāgavittāyanāś ca ye | | 7. Bhāgavittāyanāś ca ye ḍokavyāyanā oṃ pālakhī vāvālkalayaḥ śāntātapāḥ kārḍurir ākatmāveyā |
| 8. Kaumārāyaṇā | (lacuna) | |
| 9. Bhāgahayo | | |
| 10. Kaurakṛd | | |
| 11. Bhāgurāyaṇā | | |
| 12. Śārkaryāḥ | | |
| 13. †śakāveyā | | |
| 14. atho Aulapayaś ca ye | | 14. atho lavayaś ca ye †yortha atha sachāgyāyana |
| 15. Sāṃkhyāyanās | | |
| 16. †taduhitar | | |
| 17. atho Māṣaśarāvayo | | |
| 18. Dāsakāyanā | | |

28 So Ed., D; P2 sām-; P1 sāmānayanā; D2*a* sāmānasāyanā; R sausanasāyanamāyana.
29 So P, D, R, Sk; Ed. -valli; D2*a* vrahmava only; S -bali.
30 Perhaps (though probably not, cf. Mān., W) dittography of the following name; D1, D2*a* cauli; D2, P1 vauli; P2 cauri; Ed. cau only; R (ś)vaulayaḥ; Sk colayaḥ; S omits.
31 So S, cf. Baudh. no. 4; Ed., P pauri-; D1 paurasravaḥ; D2 pauriśravāḥ; D2*a* gauviśravasaḥ.
33 D2*a* pārga-; in addition to this, S gives paurṇavalkyāḥ; P2 repeats pārṇavalkyāḥ.

1 D2 sai-; P1 śalāyo.
3 Final -s in S only.
4 Cf. Baudh. no. 7; Ed. vatraivanāḥ; S traiṇavāḥ; P1 natraivaṇāḥ; P2 traikavarṇaḥ; D2*a* catraivavaṇaḥ.
6 So Ed.; P1 -siri; P2 dāṃvālasivir; S -siciḥ; D dāvālaḥ siri(ḥ); D2*a* dāvātaṃsiviḥ; cf. perhaps Baudh. no. 12, bālaśikha.
7 P1 -vitā-; for *ca ye*, Ed., P1, D2*a* cai; P2 cau.
8 Cf. Mān., W; Ed., P2, D2*a* ko-; P1 ke-; D sārāyaṇaḥ.
9 ? So D; D2*a* lānga-; P2, Ed. lāga-; P1 bhāgahayeḥ; S gālagrahayaḥ.
10 P1 kaurekṛd; S gaura-.
12 So Ed.; D2 -kaṣaḥ; D2*a* -kayo; D1 śāvāryaḥ; P śāṃkaryāḥ.
13 So P2; D2*a* kasāveyāḥ; P1 kasāpeveyā; S kaśāmeyaḥ; Ed. sāvepāḥ.
14 Cf. gaṇa *dāmanyādi*, and Kāśika on Pāṇ. 4. 3. 104; P1 audalapayaḥ; *ca ye*, restored; Ed. cātha; P1 āyo; P2 śvāyaḥ; D1 āpaḥ.
16 So Ed.; P1 taduhit only; P2 taduditar; D2*a* taduhaitar; S svaduhitar; D1 duhitaḥ.
17 So S, cf. gaṇa *bāhvādi*; D2*a*, P1 māṣasa-; Ed. māpasa-; P2 mākhasarāvapā; D1 māyaśarāviḥ.
18 So P, D2*a*, D1; Ed. dāna-; S śaśa- (cf. Mān.); D2 kaśānayaḥ.

*W*

28 māmanasāyati.
31 kauraśravasa‿-.

2 mahākanyā.

*Mān.*

28 -ṇir.
31 kauraśravasa‿-.

7 bhāgavitāyenāś ca ye.
8 kaunārāyaṇā.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 19. †bāhyavākyo | 22. Ālambāyanāḥ | 22. ālavyāyanā |
| 20. Gaurathā | 8. Kaumārāyaṇāḥ kaulakir | 8. Kaumārāyaṇāḥ kaulodakir |
| 21. Kauṇḍodaraya | | |
| 22. Ālambāyanāḥ | 28. Audgāhamāni- pārāvāṃgāri gaulvova- daṃkiṃ | 28. Audgāhamānayaḥ pā evākari- lākṣmaṇeyāḥ gāṇḍūlavoddhaki |
| 23. Prālambāyanāḥ | | |
| 24. Aupamanyavāḥ | | |
| 25. sādyāyanyo | | |
| 26. Daśerakāḥ | 15. śānkhāyanā skāmbhāyanā | 15. Sāṃkhyāyanā |
| 27. Pādakāyanā | | |
| 28. Audgāhamānaya | 24. Aupamanyavāḥ | 24. Aupamanyavāḥ |
| 29. Aupalekhayo | 21. Kauṇḍodari- vaidarbhi- taluvi- bāhuviddha- dhātuvi- dhaumavata- mauñjakāyanā | 21. Kauṇḍodari- kaidarbhi- nāhaki- bāhavi- dhaumāvata- maujāyana- |
| 30. Brāhmavalayaḥ | | |
| 31. Pārṇagārir iti | | |
| | 18. Dāsakāyanā iti | 18. śaśakāyanā iti |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya,[1] Aindrapramada'.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Aupasvasthāḥ | 1. †rauyasvasti- | 1. aupasvastiḥ |
| 2. Svasthayaś ca | 2. syastayaś ca† | 2. svastayaś ca- |
| 3. Lohā | 3. ye ālohā | |
| 4. Lohayaś ca ye | 4. lobhāyanā | 4. ālohayanāś ca ye |
| 5. Mādhyaṃdinā | 5. Mādhyaṃdināḥ | 5. Mādhyaṃdinā |
| 6. Akṣitayaḥ | 6. kṣitayaḥ | 6. Ākṣitayaḥ |

19 So Ed.; P2 -vakayo; (P2 also, by dittography, vānahyāvāvaddho); P1 vāhyovākyo; D2*a* vrāhmacāvyo; S vrāhyakāyanā vākyo; D1 vāhyavākyaḥ.
20 S, Ed. -thaś; D1 go-; D2*a* mo-.
21 Restored, cf. Baudh. no. 16, Mān., W; Ed. cauṇḍavaraya; S cāndrodaya, P1 chauṇḍodaraya; P2 chiḍīdūraya; D2*a* kṣauṇḍādarayaḥ; D1 śauṇḍodariḥ.
22 Restored; D2 alamba-; Ed., P2, S alava-; P1 alayavanaḥ.
23 So D1; Ed., P2 pralava-; S palava-; P1 pralavayani; D2 apayanaḥ; D2*a* omits.
25 ? So D2 (or sāghā?); D2*a* -āyano; Ed. nadyā-; P2 savyāsanyo panyo; P1 sadyāyavayobhyo; D1 sāhyāpatyaḥ.
26 So D1, cf. gaṇa *tikakitavādi*; D2*a* dās-; Ed., P das-; D2 vaś-.
27 S pālavā-; D2 pālaṃkā- (cf. however, Matsya).
28 Cf. Baudh. no. 13, gaṇa *pailādi*; P2 -manaya; P1 audrahamanayaḥ; Ed. audgrāhamataya; D2*a* trepadahamānapa; S aujāhamānaya.
30 So Ed., P1, D2; D2*a* vrā-; P2 vrahmayaḥ only; D1 brahmavaliḥ; S brāhmabalayaḥ.
31 So Ed., D1; P1 pāṇe-; P2 -gādir; D2 -gār iti; D2*a* parṇir iti; S pāṇigāliḥ.

1 P1 opansva-; S ausvasāḥ.
2 So Ed., P1 (-ḥ); P2 svasthayayaḥ; R svasthāyo; Sk sausthayo; D1 svasuliḥ; D2 svasthaliḥ; S svastayaś ca; only S has the word *ca*, for the others see next.
3 So S; Ed. svalokā; P1, D1 svalokyā; P2 khalolīka; D2 svalākya; R ākohā.
4 Ed. omits ye.
5 Ed. omits.
6 So S; rest here, akṣatayaḥ (P2 -ś ca).

*W*

28 auhvamāṇi.
21 kauḍodari.

*Mān.*

28 audgāhimāni.

[1] MSS. *-dvasv ai(n)dra-* (Ed. *indra-*).

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 7. Paippalādi- | 7. Paippalādi- | 7. Paippalādi- |
| 8. Vidhaṃkaṣi | 8. jahnuṣi | 8. divaṃkarṣī |
| 9. Traiśṛngā | 12. Kauṇḍinyā | 12. Kuṇḍino |
| 10. Gauggulayaḥ | 11. Maitrāvaruṇā | 11. Mitrāvaruṇā iti |
| 11. Mitrāvaruṇāḥ | 10. gaugalulayā iti | |
| 12. Kuṇḍinā iti | | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya', etc.

| | W | |
|---|---|---|
| | lohinyānāṃ phālgunyās teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati, vās. lohinya phālgunyeti hotā, etc. | |

| | W | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Jātūkarṇyā | 2. †adyāt† 'rtabodha- | |
| 2. Baudhayaḥ | 1. jātūkarṇya- | |
| 3. pāṭalaya iti | 3. pāṭavā ity eteṣām avivāhas teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati, vās. ārtavodha pāṭaveti hotā, paṭavad ruvodhavad (*sic*) vas. i.a. | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Ātri,[1] Jātūkarṇya', etc.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kāṇḍūśayo | 1. kadūhayo[2] | 1. kāṇḍuśayo[2] |
| 2. Vāhanayo | 2. vācāhataṃ | 2. vāhatapāṃ |
| 3. Jaimayo | 3. yāṃjayo | 3. jāṃjayo |
| 4. Bhaimatāyanā | 4. dhaimaimapānayanā | 4. maimanāyanā |
| 5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama ete (A)ruṇāḥ Parāśaraḥ | 5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama ete †kṣāmāḥ† Parāśarāḥ | 5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Nīlāḥ (MS. nā-) Parāśarāḥ |

7 P2 paiṣyādi.
8 ? So Ed., Sk, R; P2 vidhakaṣī; P1, D2 viśvakaṣaḥ; D1 viśvaṃkaṣaḥ; S vācakṣuṣi.
9 D -bhṛngaḥ.
10 Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 3; Ed. maudgalalulāya; P1 maudgalululuyā; P2 maudgaluluyā; D maudgalaḥ lul(l)āyaḥ; S śungāmudgamaudgula.
11 R, Sk mai-; S inverts nos. 11 and 12.

2 So P, D; Ed. bodhāyanaḥ; R arthavoghāḥ, cf. W.

3 So Ed., D1; P1 paṭha-; P2 pāṭhalā iti; D2 pāṭilir.

1 So Ed.; P1 kāṇḍu-; P2 kāḍūśyayo; S -ṣayo.
2 So P, D; Ed. vāharamo; S vāhayo.
3 So P1, D; P2, Ed., S je-.
4 So P; Ed. bhaimayanā; S bhaimakāyanā.
5 P1 govālir; Ed. gopāṇir; P2 gaupāṇir; S rogāyanir.

*Mān.*

7 yippalādi.
12 kuṇḍīno.

[1] We would expect Ātreya, which, however, appears in none of the sources. The first two names of this family have already occurred among the Vasiṣṭhas proper; for Jātūkarṇya, compare Baudhāyana no. 11, Mān., W no. 14; for Baudhi, compare K. & L., Mān., W no. 11; and it is possible that we should compare *pāṭalaya* (W *pāṭavā*) with Baudh. no. 10, *Vāṭavya*.

[2] The order of the Parāśaras in W and Mān. is: 6–10, 1–5, 21–25, 26–30, 16–20, 11–15.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 26. Āviṣṭhāyanā | 26. śrāviṣṭhāyanā | 26. āviṣṭāyanā |
| 27. Vārṣṇeyāḥ | 27. kṛṣṇeyāḥ | 27. vārṣṇāyanā |
| 28. Śyāmeyāḥ | 28. śāmeyāḥ | 28. Śyāmeya- |
| 29. †ślokayāś ca ⟨ye⟩ | 29. śokayaṃś ca ye | 29. lokāyaś ca |
| 30. Iṣīkahasta eteṣāṃ pañcama ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ | 30. 'kṣiṇir eṣāṃ pañcama[1] ete Gaurāḥ (MS. gorāḥ, corr. gārāḥ) Parāśarāḥ | 30. vaikṣir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ |
| 6. Prārohayo | 6. palohayā | 6. plāhāhapo |
| 7. Vaikalayaḥ | 7. vaikayaḥ | 7. vaidyukayaḥ |
| 8. Plākṣayaḥ | 8. plākṣakayaḥ | 8. Plākṣayaḥ |
| 9. Kaumudādayaḥ | 9. kaukavādayo | 9. Kaumudādayaḥ |
| 10. Hāryaśvir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Nīlāḥ Parāśarāḥ | 10. 'rhayośrir eṣāṃ pañcama ete †aukṣaṇāḥ† parāśarāḥ | 10. haścir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Raktāḥ Parāśarāḥ |
| 16. Pāṭhikā | 16. dadhikro | (Omits nos. 16–20) |
| 17. Bādariś caiva | 17. Vādariś caiva | |
| 18. Skambhinyāḥ | 18. skambhiṇyaḥ (*sic*) | |
| 19. kaukavādayaḥ | 19. kokuvādayā | |
| 20. kṣaumir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Śvetāḥ Parāśarāḥ | 20. aiṣīkihasta pañcama[1] ete Dhūmrāḥ Parāśarāḥ | |
| 21. Kṛṣṇājināḥ | (Omits nos. 21–25) | 21. Kārṣṇājināḥ |
| 22. †kapigrothā | | 22. kapiśroḍhāḥ |
| 23. ārkayaḥ | | 23. kārkayaḥ |

For ease of reference, the numbering of the Baudh. list is here used in all the others.
26 P1, D1 -ṣṭā-; D2 -ṣṭyā-.
27 Restored; Ed. vārśi; P1, S vārṣṇi; P2 vārṇikarṇi.
28 P1 śyātreyāḥ.
29 So Ed. (without ye); P2 ślokaryaś ca; P1, D ślokamayāś ca; S śokayāś ca.
30 P2 iṣāṃkṣvāhas teṣāṃ (and, by dittography, īṣāṃvāhas teṣāṃ).

7 Restored, cf. Baudh.; Ed., P1, D1 vāhayāḥ; P2 vahayaḥ; D2 bāhiḥ.
8 Restored; S pākṣayaḥ; Ed. prāyaḥ; P2 prācheyaḥ (and prāchāyaḥ, dittography); P1 prāya; D prāliḥ.
9 Cf. Baudh.; S kaumudāyaḥ; Ed. korkacādayaḥ; P1 kokacādayaḥ; P2 kārkavādayaḥ; D1 kaukasādiḥ; D2 kauṃkacādiḥ.
10 This name appears in all the sources in place of no. 25, which has been transferred to here. Comparison with the other lists leaves no doubt that such an interchange must be admitted, but it remains uncertain whether the subfamily names (Nīla, Gaura) have also been dislocated. The other lists give us no help in this matter, and I have assumed that the line as a whole has been misplaced, Nīla remaining with Hāryaśvi and Gaura with Pauṣkarasādi. For Hāryaśvir, P1 harya-; Ed. hayasrīr; P2 hayaśivir.

16 So Ed.; P1 maṭhikā; P2 māṇṭhikā; D māṇḍikaḥ.
17 Ed. -aś caiva.
18 So P (but gaṇa *kuñjādi*, skāmbhāyanya); Ed. skaumbinyāḥ; D skambhinnaḥ.
19 So Ed., P2; P1 -cādaya.
20 So Ed., P, D.

22 So Ed.; P1 -gorthā; P2 parigrothā; D1 kapisrotāḥ; D2 kapiḥ yothaḥ; S kāpigrīvāḥ.
23 So P2, Ed.; P1 arkaya; S ārkaryaḥ; D1 akampa-; D2 akapa-.

[1] Comparison with the other lists makes it probable that we ought to interchange nos. 20 and 30 in W (and perhaps also the names Dhūmra and Gaura).

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 24. śānaśāhayaḥ | | 24. śātātapaḥ |
| 25. Pauṣkarasādir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ | | 25. Puṣkarasādir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Kṛṣṇāḥ Parāśarāḥ |
| 11. Kālyāyanir | | 11. khākhāllāyanā |
| 12. vairiṇeyā | | 12. vārṣāyaṇi |
| 13. †trairṇayo | | 13. pūrṇayo |
| 14. Bailvayūpayas | (Omits nos. 11–15) | 14. Vilvayūpayaḥ |
| 15. taraṇir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Dhūmrāḥ Parāśarāḥ | | 15. nārṇir eṣāṃ pañcama ete Śuklāḥ Parāśarāḥ |
| | ete viṃśat (*sic*) parāśarāḥ etc., as in K. & L. | ete triṃśat parāśarāḥ, etc., as in K. & L. |

These thirty Parāśaras have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya', etc.

### D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Vasiṣṭhas, 'Vāsiṣṭha', except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras, and Kuṇḍinas.

Of the Upamanyus, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya,[1] Aindrapramada'.

Of the Parāśaras, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya'.

Of the Kuṇḍinas, 'Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya'.

### E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

Learn from me the Brahmans who are born in the family (*vaṃśa*) of Vasiṣṭha. The Vasiṣṭhas are said to have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara. The Vasiṣṭhas and the Vāsiṣṭhas have no intermarriage with the descendants of Vasiṣṭha (*vasiṣṭhaja*).

1. Vyāghrapādā
3. Aupagavā
4. Vaigalā
5. Sātvalāyanā
6. Kapiṣṭhalā
7. Auḍulomā
8. Aśvalāś ca
9. Vaṭīkarā
10. Gopāyanā

24 So P2; S śāla-; Ed. śātapāḥ; P1 nyātapā (in these two, haplography of the syllables haya, since in the manuscripts, the following name is given as ha(r)yasvir, etc., see next); D nyaḥ tapaḥ.
25 See note to no. 10; for pauṣkarasādir (Ed.); P2 pauska-; D pauka-; P1 -syādir; P2 (dittography) also poskaraḥ svādir.

11 ? So S (-iḥ); Ed., D vyāpyā-; P2 vyākhyā-; P1 vyāpyāyānir.
12 So Ed., D; P1 -yo; P2 -ṇoyo.
13 So S; all the others here omit.
14 P2 bailvo-; D2 -yupiḥ.
15 D2 tariṇir.

1 P1 -padā.
3 P1 -yavā.
4 ? Cf. K. & L.; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ vaiṣṇavāḥ; P1, D1 vaiṣṇavyāḥ; M vaiklavāḥ; D2 vaiṭavyaḥ; S vaivāhyāḥ.
5 Cf. K. & L.; P1 satva-; Ed., P2 sātu-; Kṛṣ sānu-; M śādva-; S sālu-.
7 Cf. K. & L.; all, aupalomā (except S, aulalāmā).
8 Cf. K. & L.; p adhvalāva (D1 ādhvalaḥ); M alabdhāś ca; S adhvarāva.
9 Restored; Ed. naṭāḥ karāḥ; P sadākarāḥ; S laṭīkarāḥ; M ṣaṭhāḥ kaṭhāḥ; D1 sudārakaḥ; D2 (va)sudākaraḥ.
10 M gaup-.

[1] MSS. *BiblInd*, *VidhPār*, *-dvasv indra-* (P2 *-dvasyaindra-*).





11. Baudhayaś ca
12. dākavyā
13. atha Vāhyakṛt
14. †vāliśayāḥ
15. pāliśayāḥ
17. tato vāgrathayaś ca ye
18. Āyaḥsthūṇāḥ
19. Śucivṛkṣās
21. tathā Brahmapureyakāḥ
20. Lomāyanāḥ
22. Svastikarāḥ
24. †cāṇḍālir
25. goḍilis tathā
27. vyālohapiḥ
28. Saumanasā
23. Kāṇṭheviddhis tathaiva [ca
30. caulir
26. vaulir
29. Brahmavalaḥ
31. Gauriśravasa eva ca
33. Pārṇavā
32. Yājñavalkyaś ca

These great *ṛṣis* have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vāsiṣṭha'. They have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Śailālayo
2. Mahākarṇaḥ
3. Kauravyaḥ
4. krodhinas tathā
5. Kapiñjalo
6. Vālaśikho
7. Bhāgavittāyanāś ca ye
8. Kaumārāyaṇa-
9. Bhāgahiḥ
10. Kaurakṛd
11. Bhāgurāyaṇā
12. †śākāhayaḥ
13. śākadhiyaḥ
14. atho Aulapayaś ca ye
15. Sāṃkhyāyanās
16. †tuhākāś ca
17. atho Māṣaśarāvayaḥ

11 Restored; M bodhapāś ca; S dhauvayaś ca; P dhovayaś ca; Ed. thovayaś ca; Kṛṣ dhokapa.
12 So M; p dāsa-; Kṛṣ dāma-; S dāsahyā.
13 So p; M hy atha vāhyakāḥ.
14 So M1; M2 bāli-; P2 vālīsayaḥ; P1 tālisavaḥ; D1 tālisavyaḥ; D2 tālisaḥ; Ed. tālīnayaḥ; Kṛṣ tālaśriya.
15 So M; P -sayās; Ed. -nayaḥ; D2 samaḥ; D1 omits; Kṛṣ -śāyana.
17 So P2, S; Kṛṣ vāgrathaya; D1 vāgradhiḥ; D2 vāgnadhiḥ; M vāggranthayaś; Ed. vāyathayaś.
18 All without medial visarga; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ āyasthūṇā; M āp-; P1 ăy-.
19 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed., P siti-; Kṛṣ setivṛṣṭikṣa; M śītavṛttās.
21 M brā-.
20 So M, P2; Ed., P1 -naḥ.
22 So M; Ed., P svastikāś ca; Kṛṣ svastika.
24 So Ed., P1, D, Kṛṣ; S, Sk caṇḍ-; P2 cāṇḍilir; M śāṇḍilir; R śvāṃgalayo.
25 So P, D2, Sk; S gāḍi-; R gauḍi-; Ed. goṇḍa-; Kṛṣ gauḍa-; M gauḍinis.
27 So P2, D2; Ed. vyă-; P1 -yis; Kṛṣ vyālohi; R vyālohayayaḥ; Sk vyālāhavaḥ; D1 vyālohavis; M vāḍohaliś; S vyālohiran.
28 Conj.; M ca sumanāś; Ed., P1 tu sunāśvas; S tu sūnāśvas; P2 sthāmunāśvaḥ; Kṛṣ camūdya; D1 sunāśvaḥ; D2 sutāśvaḥ; R syāmunāśvāḥ; Sk syānumāśvāḥ.
23 Conj., cf. the other lists; M copāvṛddhis tathaiva ca; Ed. suyāvir virddhir eva ca; S suśrāviś ciddhir eva ca; P suyācīr vidhir eva ca; P2 supācir vidvir eva ca; D1 supāciḥ didiḥ; D2 suyāciḥ cidiḥ; Kṛṣ supāvi viddhi; R supāvayo vidayo; Sk supārśvayāḥ only.
30, 26 So M; P1 caulivoli; P2 mithobāli; Ed. thaulijālī; Kṛṣ thauli bauli; D voliḥ only; S dyaulibaulī.
29 So P1, Kṛṣ; Ed., M -balaḥ.
31 Restored, cf. the other lists; Ed., P pauli-; M pauliḥ śravasa; Kṛṣ pauli śravasa.
33 ? For pārṇavalkyā? Ed., M1 pauḍuvo; M2, P1 pauḍavo; P2 pauḍevo; Kṛṣ pauṇḍava; D1 paiḍavaḥ; D2 pauḍaṣaḥ.
32 Ed. yă-.

1 Ed. se-; Kṛṣ sai-; S śailalayo.
2 So M, D2; Ed., P, D1 -kaṇvaḥ; Kṛṣ -kaika.
4 So all, except Ed. krokinas, Kṛṣ krodhana.
6 So p (Ed. -khī, P -khir); M vālakhilyā; Kṛṣ vātsyāyana śiśi.
7 So M; P1 -kāś ca ye; Ed., P2 bhārgavir nāyakāś ca ye; Kṛṣ bhārga vināyaka.
8–11 Emended in accordance with K. & L.; Ed., P1 kaumāro rāvaṇātkāla lakaḥ (P1 ‿atho) kṛṣṇāstarāyaṇāḥ; P2 kaumāro vārāvaṇakālākṣau kṛṣṇastarāyaṇāḥ; Kṛṣ kaumāra rāvana kāla kaukṛṣṇa dhāvana; D1 kaumāraḥ rāvaṇaḥ kokṣaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ tarogaṇaḥ; D2 kaumāro rāvaṇaḥ kālākṣakṛṣṇaḥ tarāyaṇaḥ; M kaulānayaḥ (M1 kīlā-) kālaśikhaḥ korakṛṣṇāḥ surāyaṇaḥ; M2 gives a var. lect. kaumānarāyaṇā loke kaura-; S rāvaṇātkīro lākauḥ kṛṣṇā-.
12 So P2; P1, Kṛṣ śāka-; Ed. śākāhvayāś; M śākāhāryāḥ.
13 D1 śānkha-; P2 -yāḥ.
14 Cf. K. & L.; P1, M upalapāś; Ed., Kṛṣ, D1 upalayāś; D2 upalaḥ; instead of *atho*, Ed., kaṇvā; P2 kāṇyāyanaḥ (leaping from here to no. 21, and omitting all the intervening names); all the others, kāṇvā.
15 Cf. K. & L.; all here have śākāyanā(s).
16 So P1; Ed. tuhāgāś ca; D suhākaḥ; M (-nā) uhākāś ca; S kṣtuhyakāś ca; Kṛṣ audha hakāyana.
17 MSS. atha; M -vayāḥ; Kṛṣ as two names, māṣa śarāvaya.

18. dākāyanā
19. bālavayo
19*a*. bākayo
20. Gaurathās tathā
22. Ālambāyanāḥ
śyāmavayo
21. ye ca Kauṇḍodarāyaṇāḥ
23. Pralambāyanās ca ṛṣaya
24. Aupamanyava eva ca
25. †sāṃkhyāyanāś ca ṛṣayas
26. tathā ye ca Daśerakāḥ
27. Pādakāyana
28. †udgāhā
29. ṛṣayaś ca Aupalekhayaḥ
†māneyā
30. Brahmavalayaḥ
31. Pārṇagāris

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Ābharadvasu[1] and Vasiṣṭha, and Indrapramada.[2] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Aupasvasthā
2. svasthalayo
3. ye Lohā
4. Lohayaś ca ye
5. Mādhyaṃdino
6. mākṣitayāḥ
7. Paippalādir
8. †vicakṣuṣaḥ
9. Traiśṛṅgāyaṇa-
10. Gaugguliḥ
11. Mitrāvaruṇa-
12. Kuṇḍināḥ

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Vasiṣṭha, and Mitrāvaruṇa, and Kuṇḍina of great austerity.[3] These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

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19 So Ed., M2; P1 vā-; M1 valavayo; D1 bālakiḥ; D2 vālaviḥ; Kṛṣ vālavaya.
19*a* So Ed.; M, P1, D1 vā-; D2 tākiḥ; Kṛṣ vākayoga.
20 M go-; Kṛṣ rapya.
22 ? So P1, Kṛṣ; M, Ed. lamb-.
*śyāmavayo*, M, Ed.; Kṛṣ śākhavaya; P1 śyāmayo; D śyāmiḥ.
21 Restored; Ed., M kroḍo-; P1 krauḍo-; Kṛṣ cakroḍa darāyaṇa.
23 So M, Kṛṣ, P1 (the latter also takes ṛṣaya as a proper name); Ed. pralambanāś; P2 laṃvāyanāś.
24 P1 upa-.
25 So all; and cf. no. 15 above; the readings for K. & L. make it unlikely, however, that the name is correct here.
26 Ed., P1 ye ca; P2 pañca; M vai ve; P, M daśerakāḥ; Ed. das-; Kṛṣ dvas-.
27 Cf. K. & L.; M2 var. lect. pādapāyana; P, M pālankāyana; Ed., Kṛṣ pālakāyana.
28 D1 udrāhaḥ; D2 udvāhaḥ; Kṛṣ udgoha; see *māneya* below.
29 Restored; Ed., P, D1 ba(va)lekhalaḥ; M balekṣavaḥ; Kṛṣ balaiśvara; D2 valokhalaḥ.
*māneyā* So P, D1; Ed., M māteya; D2 māyenaḥ; this is the other half of no. 28, see K. & L., audgāhamāni.
30 So P1; P2 brahmacayaś ca; Kṛṣ -valaya; Ed. -balayaḥ; M1 -balinaḥ; M2 -malinaḥ.
31 So P; Ed., M1 parṇā-; Kṛṣ parṇagara; M2 pānnāgāris (for this last, see Schol. to Pān. 2. 4. 66—it is presumably the 'Eastern' (prācya) form of the same name).

1 So Ed., P2; P1 apa-; Kṛṣ -svastya; M aupasthalā.
2 So M, Ed.; P2 -layā; P1 svastalopā; Kṛṣ svastyalaya.
3 Conj.; Ed., P2 yālohā; P1 yolāhā; M1 pālohā; M2 bālohā; D1 pālohaḥ (after this name, D2 shows that there is a considerable lacuna in D1); D2 pālehaḥ; Kṛṣ pālauha.
4 So p; M lohalāś ca ye; Kṛṣ lolaya.
5 Kṛṣ -dini; Ed. -dhiko.
6 So Ed., P2; P1 -taryoḥ; M mākṣa-; Kṛṣ mohitaya.
8 So M; Ed. vicatkaṣī; P1 viḥ caha-i; P2 vivanhṛṣī; D2 vivahnāḥ.
9 So M; Ed. -singāyana; P1 ausiṃgayena; Kṛṣ traisaṃgāyani; S tr[illegible]stigāyana; D2 vīlausiṃgāyanaḥ; P2 traiśṛng[illegible] govanaḥ.
10 Conj. restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed. saugūlus; P1, D2 saugoli; Kṛṣ saugulu; S saugullur; P2 saugir lu; M1 saivalkāḥ; M2 saibalkāḥ.
11, 12 Restored, cf. K. & L.; Ed. trirvāguḍhinasātamāḥ; P1 vāguriś ca mahātapāḥ; D2 vāgurimātsye; P2 vāguṭhinasottamāḥ; Kṛṣ vāgumṭhina gautama; M kuṇḍinaś ca narottama.

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[1] So P2, S; P1 *ābhāradvakṣu*; Ed. *bharadvasu*; M *bhagīvasu*; Kṛṣ gives both *ābharadvasu* and *bharadvasu*.
[2] M, P1 *-pramadir*.
[3] M2 here inserts: *dānakāya mahāvīryā nāgeyāḥ paramās tathā; ālambā vāyanaś cāmpi (sic) ye cakroḍādayo narāḥ.*





1. Jātūkarṇyo
2. †vasiṣṭhaś ca
3. pādapaś ca tathaiva ca

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Jātūkarṇya, and Vasiṣṭha, and Atri, O king. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

These pre-eminent *ṛṣis*, O king, founders of gotras[1] in the family of Vasiṣṭha have been named by me, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

[Puruṣottama next quotes in full the legend of Vasiṣṭha and king Nimi, which follows in the Purāṇa text, including the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha from the sperm of both Mitra and Varuṇa. The account of the Parāśaras follows.]

Parāśara was the son of Śakti. Learn his line from me....

1. Kāṇḍūśayo
2. Vāhanayo
3. Jaimayo
4. Bhaimatāyanaḥ
5. Gopālir eṣāṃ pañcama

ete Gaurāḥ Parāśarāḥ

6. Prārohayo
7. bāhyatayāḥ
8. Plākṣayaḥ
9. kautujātayaḥ
10. Hāryaśvir eṣāṃ pañcamo

Nīlā jñeyāḥ Parāśarāḥ

21. Kṛṣṇājināḥ
22. kapiśreṣṭhāḥ
23. kārkeya-
24. †sthājapātayaḥ
25. pañcamaḥ Pauṣkarasādiḥ

Kṛṣṇā jñeyāḥ Parāśarāḥ

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1 MSS. jātū-; M śivakarṇo.
2 So p, except P2 vasiṣṭho pi; M vayaś caiva; possibly we should read baudhayaś ca, with K. & L.
3 So M; Ed. jādayaś ca; P1 vajrapādaś ca; D1 vajrapādaḥ atyaḥ; D2 vajrapādaṃ i-aṃta Kṛṣ ajādayaś ca; P2 dayāluḥ sauktikaḥ khagaḥ (D gives these names—but D1 saumikaḥ, D2 sauhikaḥ—with the notice, iti kaścit).

1 Cf. the other lists; M2 var. lect. kāṇḍūṣayo; M2 kāṇḍaśayo; M1 kāṇḍaśapo; P2 -aśāyo; Ed. -arṣapo; P1, Kṛṣ kāśayo.
2 So P2; Ed., M -po; P1, Kṛṣ omit.
3 So P2; P1 jaimamau; Ed. jaihyapo; M jaihmapo; Kṛṣ jaima only.
4 So P2; P1 bhaumanāyakaḥ; Ed., M bhaumatāpanaḥ; Kṛṣ mogantāyana. In the sub-heading, M2 notes that two manuscripts read Kṛṣṇāḥ instead of Gaurāḥ.
6 Cf. the other lists; M2 var. lect. prārorayā; M prapohayā; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ prāgehayā; P1 apohayā.
7 So Ed.; Kṛṣ -tapā; P2 vā-; M, P1 vāhyamayāḥ.
8 Restored; Ed. pāryeyāḥ; P2 pārtheyāḥ; P1 dhyāyoyā; M khyāteyāḥ; Kṛṣ pāryāya.
9 So Ed., P1, M; Kṛṣ -jantava; P2 kaurujāyanā.
10 M hā-; P1 haryasvir; Ed. haryaśva; P2 dvairyāvir; Kṛṣ haiyyaṃgavi.

21 Restored; Ed., P2, Kṛṣ, M kārṣṇāyanāḥ; P1 kāṣṇāyanāḥ.
22 So Ed.; P1, M1 -sukhāḥ; M2 -mukhāḥ, var.lect. -śravāḥ; P2 kāśvisevāḥ; Kṛṣ kāściseva.
23 So Ed., P2; M kākeya; P1 kāpeya; Kṛṣ kāyasthāna.
24 So M, P1; Ed. syānayātayāḥ; P2 syānatayaḥ; Kṛṣ yānuyāna.
25 Restored; MSS. puṣkaraḥ pañcamaś caiṣāṃ.

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[1] Instead of *nṛpa gotra-kārāḥ*, M has *satataṃ dvijendrāḥ*.

26. Āviṣṭhāyana-
27. Vārṣneyāḥ
28. Śyāmeyāś
29. †cokayaś ca ye
30. Iṣīkahasta pañcama
ete Śvetāḥ Parāśarāḥ

16. Pāṭhikā
17. Bādariś caiva
18. stambhanyāḥ
19. krodhanāyanāḥ
20. kṣaum⟨at⟩ir eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Śyāmāḥ Parāśarāḥ

11. Khalyāyanā
12. vārṣṇāyanās
13. taileyaḥ
14. Bailvayūpayas
15. †tantir† eṣāṃ pañcama
ete Dhūmrāḥ Parāśarāḥ

All the Parāśaras are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Parāśara, and Śakti, and Vasiṣṭha of great austerity. None of the Parāśaras have any intermarriage one with another.[1]

The Parāśaras, of might like the sun, leaders of families, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

The five gaṇas here given have no intermarriage because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Vasiṣṭha occurs, either in actual fact or implicitly in all the pravaras. The Saṃkṛtis, etc., avoid all the Vasiṣṭhas in marriage, as well as those mentioned in their own gaṇa, as has already been stated in the Āngirasa-chapter.

26 So Ed., P1; M1 -ṣṭā-; P2 āpiṣṭāyanā; M2 śrāviṣṭhāyana; Kṛṣ omits nos. 26–30.
27 Restored; Ed., M1 vāleyā; M2 bāleyāḥ; P1 vālyeyā; P2 bālyeyāḥ.
28 Restored; P1, M svāyaṣṭāś; P2 svāyathāś; Ed. svāyasvāś.
29 So P2; P1, M copayaś (M -āś) ca ye; Ed. causayaś.
30 P1 iṣī-; ;2 iṣai-.

16 Ed. pāṭh-; M1 pāṭiko; M2 vāṭiko; P, Kṛṣ paṭikā.
17 Kṛṣ vāhari.
18 So P2; P1, Ed. -tyāḥ; M stambā vai; Kṛṣ ekastamba.
19 So M; P2 krauñcakātayaḥ; Ed. krauñcakābakāḥ; P1 ktauṃcakicakā; Kṛṣ kaivakandhaka.
20 Ed., M kṣaumir; P2 kṣaumar; P1 vadhāś ca kṣaumir; Kṛṣ vattākṣa.
Kṛṣ omits nos. 11–15.
11 So M; P2 -nī; P1 khālyāni; Ed. khalvāyanā.
12 So M, Ed.; P2 vāṣṇāyanair; P1 vāṣpīspami.
13 So M, Ed.; P1 tauvācau; P2 nāpāḥ.
14 Restored; Ed. khalu yūdhapāḥ; M khalu yūthapāḥ; P1 khalu yūpayaḥ; P2 khala pūpayaḥ.
15 M tantir; P1 tārṣṇir; Ed. bhārṇir; P2 eteṣāṃ pañcastnas tārṣir.

[1] M1 omits this paragraph.





The name Maitrāvaruṇa in the pravara of the Kuṇḍinas must be understood to denote two *ṛṣis*, and not the well-known deities, because of the text: 'Not by gods, not by men, but by *ṛṣis* only does he choose the *ārṣeya*'. Moreover, Mitra and Varuṇa are *ṛṣis* only when together, not severally, because of the text: 'He does not choose four'. Also, the *Matsya Purāṇa* says[1] that while Mitra and Varuṇa were practising austerities in the Badarī hermitage, Urvaśī came there, and when they saw her, their sperm was spilt, and happened to be caught in a pitcher full of water. From this Vasiṣṭha was born; and from Vasiṣṭha, Kuṇḍina. Thus, Mitra and Varuṇa have a united *ṛṣi*-hood and a united fatherhood.

[1] In the legend above, before the Parāśaras. Agastya is there also said to have been born at the same time and in the same manner.

## Chapter VIII

# THE AGASTIS

### A. *Baudhāyana*

We shall explain the Agastis:

1. Agastayo
2. viśālādyā
3. skālāyanā
4. Aupadahanayaḥ
5. Kalmāṣadaṇḍir
6. dhāvarṇir
7. Lāvarṇir
8. †lavyārbudo
9. Vairiṇayo
10. budbudodari
11. Śaivapathayaḥ
12. Śālyātapā
13. Mauñjakayaḥ
14. pāṇḍuhṛdā
15. Härigrīvayo
16. Rauhiṣyā
17. Mausalaya iti

These are Agastis. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha', etc.

The Sambhavāhas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Sāmbhavāha', etc.[1]

1 P2 agastyayo; B (a)gastya.
2 So A (P1 -śālva-); M, G, T bodhiḥ śālāṭyāḥ; Bu adhiśālāḥ ṭāṃ.
3 So Ed., P1, Be, U; R skhālā-; Sk phālā-; P2 skāyaṃlāyanā; M, G kālā-; T kāla-; Bu kilā-; Caland suggests skāndāyanā (for which cf. gaṇa *kuñjādi*).
4 Ed. aupadahayanaḥ; P1 audahaya; Bu aupadanayaḥ; T aupanayāḥ; rest, aupadahanayaḥ.
5 So B, P1; Ed., R kul-; P2 kulmāpastaṇḍi; D1 kulmāṣaḥ daṇḍiḥ; D2 kuśaḥ daṇḍiḥ; R kulmāṣā daṇḍayo; Sk kalmaṣāḥ daṇḍayo.
6 In B only (S dhāvaṇiḥ); possibly dittography of the following name.
7 So M, G, T; Ed. lāvarṇāḥ; P1 lāparṇā; S, D, R, Sk lāvaṇiḥ (-aṇayo); P2 lāviṇi.
8 So G; M syāt budo; T śāt prado; Bu lāṣyāḥ aṃbudaḥ; S laṣyābudho; Be, U layyādavadhayo; Ed. lāpyaḥ bavadayo; P1 tmāvavaṃdayo; P2 lāpyādhavadayo; R lāvyā varaḍayo; Sk lavyā varaṇḍayo; D lavyaḥ varaṇḍiḥ; the other lists give Arbuda as a separate name; and vairaṇḍeya occurs in W.
9 G bairi-; rest vaira- (except D1 vairaṇḍiḥ); cf. K. & L.
10 So M, G; T budbudoradarayaḥ; Bu budbodarayaḥ; P1 vudhodayaḥ; P2 vudhodarayo; D budhodariḥ; Sk mudo-; R vudo-; Ed. budhodayaḥ.
11 So B, P1; P2 naiva-; Be, U naika-; Ed., D, S, R saiva-; Sk saivathayaḥ (*not* śai-).
12 So A (Ed. śaiśālvātapāḥ, D2 śālyāyanaḥ, R śālyātā aupā); B śālāvatā; S kāriṇyātāḥ.
13 So M, Bu; G, S māñja-; Ed. mauja-; T māja-; D. R mauñjikayaḥ (-kiḥ); P2, Be, U mauñjanakayaḥ; P1 mauñjīkarā; Sk maujilatāḥ.
14 So B (T -hradaḥ, Bu panthāḥ hṛdāḥ); Be, U pāṇḍohṛtā; P2 paṇḍohṛtā; Ed. pāthohṛtāḥ; P1, R, D1 pāthodgatā; D2 pārthedgataḥ; Sk pāyohatāḥ; S kāṇḍahṛtā; before this name, S inserts pāthikāryāḥ prācāryāḥ hṛdyogayaḥ.
15 So M, G, T; R -grīvī; rest -grīvā(ḥ).
16 So M, G, R (and Be, U?); Ed., S rohiṣyā; P1 rauhiṇyā; P2, D2, Sk rohiṇya; Bu rauhikyāḥ; D1 rauhiḥ; T rauhi.
17 So Be, U, M, G, D, R, cf. gaṇa *gargādi*; Ed., P, Sk -śa-; Bu mautma-.

[1] Caland is doubtless right in considering the Sambhavāhas to have arisen merely from dittography of the Somavāhas, since their inclusion brings the total of pravaras to fifty instead of the forty-nine mentioned in Baudhāyana's verse, below, p. 203. They appear in B, Ed., R, Sk and D, and therefore the interpolation would seem to be an old one. R also adds after the Yajñavāhas, *darbhavāhānām*, etc.





The Somavāhas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha', etc.

The Yajñavāhas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Yājñavāha', etc.

### B. *Āpastamba*

The Agastis have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya' for the Hotṛ, 'like Agasti' for the Adhvaryu. But some give a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha', etc.

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

Next we shall explain the Agastyas:

| | *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. atha‿Upakula- | 1. okūlaka- | 1. kukūla- |
| 2. Sukalāpa- | 2. upakūlaka- | 2. upaka- |
| 3. Kāriṇi- | | valaka- |
| 4. Dhāriṇi- | Lāmakāyani- | lāṃvakāyana- |
| 5. Mauñjaki- | Śālaṃkāyani- | śālaṃkāyana- |
| 6. Vairiṇi- | 4. Dhāriṇi- | 4. Dhāriṇi- |
| 7. Kalmāṣadaṇḍi- | 6. Vairiṇi- | 6. dhauraṇi- |
| 8. nivairiṇānāṃ | | saudanvā |
| 9. Sauribhāga- | | saukṛtya- |
| 10. Govyādhi- | 7. Kalmāṣadaṇḍir | 7. Kalmāṣadaṇḍir |
| 11. Śaivapatha‿ | †apaitarāvaṇānāṃ | †apautarau- |
| | | nurāyaṇānāṃ |
| | | śaubhaṃyinā |
| | 9? śo(la)pyāmana- | |
| | 10. Govyādhilā | 10. Govyādhilā- |
| | śilāhya- | śilādya- |
| | menula- | |
| | mānya- | |
| | mrāndā- | |
| | hatānāṃ | |
| | 11. Śaivapatha‿ | 11. Śaivapatha‿ |

1 So Ed., P1, D1; P2 (a)tha kala; D2 upakalaḥ; S upaṃkula.
2 D2 sukalpaḥ; S sukalopa.
3 So Ed., P2, S; P1 kāriṇa; D1 kārī; D2 kurpūri.
4 So Ed., P; D vāriṇiḥ.
5 ? Cf. Baudh. no. 13 ? S mauñjiki; Ed. mokṣati; P1, D2 kṣaumati; D1 kṣaumitiḥ; P2 śaumiti.
6 So Ed., S, P; D1 nirvairiṇaḥ; D2 naipairiṇiḥ.
7 Cf. Baudh. no. 5; Ed. -dāru; P1 kalpāṣa-; P2 kalmaṣitaṃḍi tidaṃḍi.
8 So P2; P1 navai-; Ed. tāpāyanās; perhaps we should read vairaṇḍīnām, cf. W, and D1 under Baudh. no. 9.
9 So Ed., P, D2; D1 saura-.
10 So D1; cf. Mān., W; Ed., P govyava; D2 gocyādiḥ.
11 Cf. Baudh. no. 11, Mān.; Ed. haimabhavaha-; P1 haibhavaha-; P2, D1 haimavaha.

*W*

śālaṃkāyaṇi.
4 dhāriṇi.
7 kalmāṣatantur.
11 śailayatha‿.

*Mān.*

4 dhāraṇī.
7 kalyāsatuṃḍar.

| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 12. Arbudānāṃ | 12. Arbudānām | 12. Arbudānāṃ |
| 13. †medinīpañcapā | Āgastya- | aidilamā |
| 14. dāvatānāṃ | vaikarṇāyatānāṃ | evayāyadūtā |
| 15. agadādya-† | śārageravāḥ | āgastya dārḍh[y]acyut- |
| 16. Hārigrīvīṇāṃ | śirṣāyaṇānāṃ | aidhmavāheti hotā, etc. |
| 17. †sairiśyā- | vā(thā)hyeraṇḍeya- | (*sic* lacuna) |
| 18. vittamayo | vairaṇḍeya- | |
| 19. ravatānām †iti | vahyaiki- | |
| | nahyāyani- | |
| | śaphākṣi- | |
| | kudryākṣi- | |
| | ramyākṣi- | |
| | prādurākṣi- | |
| | dāmoṣṇīṃ | |
| | vaśubharāḥ | |
| | saubharāyaṇa- | |
| | bhargāyanaḥ | |
| | śaiśavā iti | |
| | Pravara as in K. & L. | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha', etc.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Agastayaḥ | 1. Agastyaḥ | |
| 2. Karambhayaḥ | 2. Karambhayaḥ | |
| 3. Kurunāḍyaḥ | 3. kanāṭhāḥ | |
| 4. Kauśalyāḥ | | |
| 5. Sumedhaso | 5. surodhaso | Mān. omits. |
| 6. Mayobhuvo | | |
| 7. Gāndhārāyaṇāḥ | 7. yogandhrāyanāḥ | |
| 8. Paulastayaḥ | 8. Pulastyaḥ | |
| 9. Pulahaḥ | 9. Pulahāḥ | |

12 P2 mudānā(ṃ).
13 So Ed.; P2 medinimacyaphāṃ; P1 edīnipañcakā; D1 medinīpañcakaḥ; D2 medanīṃpacakaḥ; S mehinyaniṣpañcapa.
14 So P2, Ed.; P1 dādatānāṃ; D devataḥ; S rāṇḍāvātānām.
15 So P (P1 -dyā); Ed. agadadya; D2 agadaḥ; D1 agavaḥ; S agadadhya.
16 So P1 (but without anusvāra); P2, Ed. -āṇām; D1 -aḥ.
17 So P2; Ed. sau-; D2 saiśiraḥ; P1 śairiṣya; D1 śairiṣaḥ; S sauriṇyā.
18 So P1; Ed. vattamayo; P2 vattamo; S vattayo; D1 vittapaḥ; D2 vintapaḥ.
19 So Ed., P2, S; P1 ravattānāṃ; D1 avatānaḥ; D2 ayaṃtāna.

1 Sk agastyayaḥ.
2 P2 -bhaḥ.
3 So P1, D1; D2 -nāḍayaḥ; Ed., P2 kūnāḍāḥ; S kunāḍhāḥ.
4 So P, R, Sk; D1 kausalyaḥ; D2 kauśilyaḥ; Ed. kauśālyāḥ.
5 ? So Sk; P1, D khagevaso; Ed. khamevaso; S śvamedhaso; P2 ścamevaso.
6 Sk somayo.
7 So Ed., P2; rest, gāndhă-.
8 So Ed., Sk; P pulastyayaḥ; R pulastyamāyaḥ; D1 pulastiḥ; D2 punahasti.

*Man.*

12 arburdānāṃ.





| | W | Mān. |
|---|---|---|
| 10. Kratur iti | 10. Kratur | |
| | Māhendra | |
| | Mayobhuvā[1] iti | |
| | Pravara as in K. & L. | |

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgaṣtya, Māhendra, Māyobhuva', etc.

The Paurṇamāsa-Pāraṇas[2] have no intermarriage. They have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Āgastya, Paurṇamāsa, Pāraṇa', etc.

The following additional families have nothing corresponding in the other Sūtras, and for the most part the text is beyond repair.

| W | Mān. |
|---|---|
| | naṃdi- |
| | vimali- |
| | dhimali- |
| | pināyakṣi- |
| | sāyaki ity eteṣāṃ, etc. |
| | āgastya pināyakṣi śāyaketi hotā, etc.[3] |
| prācīnapravarā | prācīnapravaṇāḥ[4] |
| vākāyeyā | kāpeyāḥ |
| akra- | akra- |
| śakra- | śukra- |
| śuka- | śuddhasa- |
| haṃsa- | |
| vāṣa- | cāṣa- |
| bhāṣa- | bhāṣa- |
| Haimavarci- | Haimavarci[5] |
| Himodakā ity eteṣām, etc. | Himodakāḥ ity eteṣām, etc. |
| Āgastya haimavarca himodaketi hotā, etc. | Āgastya haima⟨va⟩rci himoda⟨ke⟩ti hotā, etc. |
| akri- | akri- |
| cakri- | cakri- |
| arci- | arci- |
| carci- | carci- |
| himodaki- | himodaki- |
| pāriṇakā ity eteṣām, etc. | yārīṇakā ity eteṣām, etc. |
| āgastya paināka pāriṇaketi hotā pārīṇavat, etc. | āgastya pināyaka pāriṇaketi hotā pārīṇakavat, etc. |

[1] MS. *-bhava* (and similarly in the pravara).
[2] Ed. *pauraṇā*; and in the *pravara, pauraṇa, pūraṇavat*; P1 *pārṇā*; P2 *pārāyaṇā*; but both P1, P2 have *pāraṇa* in the *pravara*.
[3] Given in the MS. before the Idhmavāhas. They are repeated below.
[4] Except for the family beginning Akra- cakra-, all the remainder of the Mān. account of the Agastis is misplaced in the middle of the concluding section, between the phrases *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇā bhavanti* and *yathaitac chaunga-śaiśirīṇāṃ*.
[5] MS. *haubhavarca*.

| *W* | *Mān.* |
|---|---|
| nandi- | naṃdi- |
| vimaliṃ- | vimili- |
| cilimi- | licili- |
| vileyam | |
| mimītki | mimītaki- |
| pinā⟨ya⟩ka- | pināyaki- |
| sāyakā ity eteṣām, etc. āgastya paināka sāyaketi hotā, etc. | sāyaketi hotā sāyakavat, etc. (*sic* lacuna). |
| akra- | akra- |
| śakra- | śakra- |
| śakraṃha- | śukra- |
| cāṣa- | jātye |
| bhāṣa- | |
| haimacarci- | haimandakīty (*sic*) |
| homodakā (*sic*) ity etesām, etc., āgastya mādhyaya pauriṇeti hotā pūraṇavan madhyamayad ag. i.a. | eteṣām, etc., āgastya māhendra māyobhuveti hotā, etc.[1] |
| | madhyama-pūraṇās teṣāṃ tryārṣeyaḥ, etc. āgastya mādhyama pūriṇeti hotā, etc. |

### D. *Āśvalāyana*

Of the Agastis, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Aidhmavāha'; or else the last name is Somavāha, 'Āgastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha'.

### E. *Matsya Purāṇa*

The fish said: Next I shall tell the Brahmans born in the family of Agastya.

1. Agastayaḥ
2. Karambhayaḥ
4. Kauśalyaḥ
3. karatas tathā
5. Sumedhaso
6. Mayobhuvas
7. tathā Gāndhārakāyaṇāḥ
8. Paulastyāḥ
9. Paulahāś caiva
10. Kratu-vaṃśa-bhavās tathā

All these are said to have a splendid three-*ṛṣi* pravara, Agastya, and Mahendra, and Mayobhuva the *ṛṣi*. These *ṛṣis* are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1 M agastyaś ca.
2 M karambhaś ca.
4 So M; P2 -āḥ; Ed. -śālyāḥ; Kṛṣ kośalya; P1 kauśalyātho.
3 So P2, M1; Ed. -ṭās; M2 śakaṭās; S karayas; P1, Kṛṣ omits nos. 3, 5, 6.
7 So Ed., M; P1 gandhā-; P2 gandhārakāraṇaḥ; Kṛṣ gāndharāyaṇa.
9 P2 paunahāś.
10 So Ed., M; P2 kratur vaṃśastavas t.; P1 krartuṃ vaṃśastavās t.; Kṛṣ catu(?) viśasta.

[1] Given in Mān. immediately after the Idhmavāhas. The pravara here belongs to the missing Agastis.





'The Paurṇamāsas and Pāraṇas[1] are said to have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, "Agastya, and Paurṇamāsa, and Pāraṇa"[1] of great austerity. The Paurṇamāsas and Pāraṇas are not intermarriageable.

'Thus the line of descent of the *ṛṣis* has been told to you, down to the last man.

'I shall now answer any questions your Honour may care to put.'

Manu said: 'Tell me how Pulaha, Pulastya, and great-souled Kratu belong to the family of Agastya.'

The fish said: 'That best of *ṛṣis* Kratu, being without offspring in this Manu-period, took Idhmavāha to be his son, the virtue-knowing son of Agastya. Hence the Kratus are Agastyas. Pulaha had three sons, whose birth I shall duly relate to you later on. Pulaha, when he saw his children, was displeased, and chose to be his son Dṛḍhacyuta[2] the son of Agastya. Thus the Paulahas are said to be Agastyas. The wise Pulastya, seeing that his sons had been born Rakṣases, chose to be his son the son of Agastya. Thus the Paulastyas are said to be Agastyas.[3]

'O king, these pravaras of Brahmans have been told to you, of great power, founders of families, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.'

*Puruṣottama comments:*

None of the gotra-gaṇas of the Agastis here cited have intermarriage one with another, because of the identity of gotra which results from the fact that Agastya is the eighth who is added to the seven *ṛṣis*, and also because two out of three *ṛṣis* in the pravaras coincide.

After having given the rule of no intermarriage within the eight groups of the descendants of the founders of gotras, Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, and Agasti, because of identity of gotra, Kapardisvāmin, the commentator on Āpastamba's Sūtra, goes on to say: 'Here the Bhṛgus and Angirases make a "separate" marriage, but not if the majority of *ṛṣi*-names should be identical', but instead of attributing this to Baudhāyana, he says 'this is the view of all the Sūtra writers. Garga, however, permits the Vasiṣṭhas, Kaśyapas and Viśvāmitras also to follow the Bhṛgus and Angirases in this matter of "separate" marriage.[4] Similarly also in the pravara-chapter of the Kaṭhas.[5] But the rest disapprove of this.' Therefore, there is no marriage within the major gotra (*pakṣa*) in the case of these three, since where the view of two authorities is opposed to many, the opinion of the majority is to be followed. This may be seen from the maxim: 'Where conflicting duties meet

[1] Ed. *pauraṇa*.
[2] M *drḍhāsyaṃ tu* (!).
[3] M2 inserts: *sagotratvād ime sarve parasparam ananvayāḥ*.
[4] I.e. marriage between the various gaṇas of the major gotra. See above, p. 66 ff.
[5] Viz. the Laugākṣi? There is, however, nothing of this in that text as quoted by Puruṣottama.

together (in the same extended sacrifice), the duty proper to the majority (of days in the rite) is to be applicable to all.'[1] But even on the view of those who allow this 'separate' marriage for all five major gotras, marriage within the Vasiṣṭha-gotra must still be with persons of different pravara; and within the Kaśyapa-gotra there is still no intermarriage on the one hand between the Nidhruvas, [Asitas], Rebhas, and Laugākṣis[2] who are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night, nor on the other hand between the Devalas, Asitas, and Śaṇḍilas. Nor do the Ajas have any marriage within the Viśvāmitra-gotra. All this is a matter for investigation by scholars.

[1] Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, 12. 2. 22. [2] Ed. *lakṣmaṇa.*





## CHAPTER IX
## KṢATRIYAS AND VAIŚYAS

I SHALL now tell in order the rules of pravara and non-marriage in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and their dependance on the pravara of their purohitas, since they stand (as it were) in the relationship of children to their purohitas.

### A. *Baudhāyana*

Kṣatriyas have a three-*ṛṣi* (pravara), 'Mānava, Aiḍa,[1] Paurūravasa' for the Hotṛ, 'like Purūravas, Iḍā, Manu', for the Adhvaryu. Vaiśyas have a three-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Bhālandana,[2] Vātsapra, Mānkila'[3] for the Hotṛ, 'like Mankila, Vatsapri,[4] Bhalandana' for the Adhvaryu.

### B. *Āpastamba*

Next, of Kṣatriyas. If they recite their own, they have the one pravara, 'Mānava, Aiḍa, Paurūravasa', etc. Those who do not have hymn-composers should make the recitation with their purohita's pravara; those who have hymn-composers should do without their purohita's pravara. (But the correct view is that these also) should use their purohita's pravara, because of the logical argument. Vaiśyas have a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Vātsapra' for the Hotṛ, 'like Vatsapri' for the Adhvaryu.

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

[Kings have their purohita's pravara; with this too the pravara of Vaiśyas is explained. If he should recite with *ṛṣi*-names he should say: 'Mānava, Aiḷa, Paurūravasa.'][5]

### D. *Āśvalāyana*

Kings have their purohita's pravara; if they should make the pravara-recitation with *ṛṣis*, 'Mānava, Aiḷa, Paurūravasa'.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

'With *ṛṣis*' (*sārṣam*)[6] means 'with *ṛṣi*-names' (*sahārṣeyam*).

[1] B *aiḷa, iḷāvat*; A *aila, ilāvat* (Ed. *ilavat*).
[2] B *phāl-*. [3] Ed. *mānkīla, mankīlavat.*
[4] So Ed.; Be, U, Caland *vatsapravat*; B *vatsapramadavat* (and *vātsapramada*).
[5] This paragraph is cited here out of place (and somewhat inaccurately) by Puruṣottama, simply for convenience of reference. Its correct place in the Sūtra text is after the discussion of the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇas*, etc., see below, p. 212. Mān. and W also give it only in the latter place. The words *sa ṛṣīn* in Ed. here are an error for *sārṣṭim*, 'according to his rank, or origin (*sṛṣṭi*)'.
[6] So Ed.; the better reading is *sārṣṭam*.

*(Here follows Puruṣottama's comment on the Āpastamba rule)*:

Here, there are two kinds of Kṣatriyas: some have hymn-composers, and some do not. Those who have should recite their own (pravara), those who do not, the pravara of their purohita; having laid down these two prima facie views, he gives as the correct view (*siddhānta*) that all Kṣatriyas should recite only the pravara of their purohitas—'because of the logical argument'. Now what logical argument is meant? First, all Kṣatriyas have purohitas, and without them they have no admittance to sacrificial rites, as is seen from the etymology of purohita, 'being placed in front of him, he leads him in all matters';[1] and on the view that all Kṣatriyas should recite their own pravara, the result would be that there could be no intermarriage among them, since they would all have the same pravara.

This reasoning is applicable in the case of Vaiśyas also, since they, too, have a purohita, who is their judge[2] and must be a performer of the *Darvihoma*; and since the view that they should recite their own pravara would result in there being no intermarriage among them, since they would all be of the same pravara. Since the word 'king' denotes specifically an anointed king, some think that even Brahmans who have attained kingship should make the pravara-recitation with the pravara of their purohita, since they also invariably have a purohita. On this view, there is in addition no intermarriage with those who are of the same gotra as the purohita.

[1] Ed.: *pura enaṃ hitam eva sarvaṃ nayatīti*; read *hita eva*.
[2] Cf. VāsDhS 19. 40.





## Chapter X

### 1. *Ignorance as to pravara*

I SHALL now tell how those Brahmans who are ignorant of their own gotra and pravara are to take the pravara and marriage restrictions of their own teacher (since they stand as sons to their teacher). As there is doubt on this point, the all-wise Āpastamba and the rest resolve the doubt by saying:

'Now a man whose family connections are not known should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher,[1] and he recites his teacher's pravara.'

Here, 'family connections' means gotra or pravara: the man who does not know this accurately[2] is 'one whose family connections are not known', e.g. Satyakāma, etc. Thus, Satyakāma Jābāla, having requested the teacher Gautama for admission as a pupil, and having been received into Gautama's protection, was asked by the latter: 'Of what gotra are you, friend?' And he replied: 'Sir, I do not know to what gotra I belong.'[3] A man, therefore, who in this fashion is ignorant of his family connections should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher, i.e. he should proclaim his teacher's gotra, or his pravara, in due order.[4] 'He recites his teacher's pravara'—this means the same thing.

But it is objected: 'Is this not prohibited by scriptural passages such as "if a man recites the *ārṣeya* of another, that *ṛṣi* takes the sacrifice and the enjoyment"?'[5] No: since the sonship of a pupil is best, surpassing even a son of one's own body. As Āpastamba says: 'Thus the teacher piles up precepts of virtue for him, he never harms him; for from knowledge he begets him. That is the best birth; father and mother beget merely the body.' And Baudhāyana says: 'Those whom he begets, those whom he initiates, those whom he teaches, those for whom he sacrifices—all those become his sons.' And since this is so, pupils do not marry within the gotras of their teachers, because of having the same gotra and pravara.

### 2. *Sacrificial matters*

Baudhāyana says:

'We shall explain the Nārāśaṃsa(-rule): Ātreyas, Vādhryaśvas, Vādhūlas, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaṇvas, Śunakas, Saṃkṛtis,[6] Yaskas, and Rājanyas and Vaiśyas all

[1] *ācāryāmuṣyāyaṇam anuprabravīta.*
[2] *saṃ* is explained by *samyak*.
[3] Chānd. Up. 4. 4. 3–4.
[4] *anu-* is explained by *ānupūrvyāt*.
[5] Āpast., above, p. 71.
[6] Ed. omits this name, and in a footnote gives: *kaṇva-saṃkṛti-yaska-śunakārājanya*; in place of *saṃkṛti-yaska-*, Be, U read *śuṃḍaska*.

are said to be Nārāśaṃsas. Tanūnapāt belongs to the other gotras. Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have their purohita's pravara—thus it is known.'

Āpastamba and the rest say:[1]

'The Nārāśaṃsa is the second fore-offering in the case of the Vasiṣṭhas and the Śunakas; the Tanūnapāt in the case of the other gotras.'

So also: 'A Vasiṣṭha is Brahmā-priest at the Jyotiṣṭoma [or anyone else.'][2] So also: 'He gives gold to the Ātreya first, or second or third.' So also: 'He should not give a sacrificial fee in fear to Kaṇvas and Kaśyapas.' So also: 'When a man is performing the thirty-six years' rite of the *Śāktyas*, the (preparation of) the sacrificial cake and the office of Adhvaryu at the ceremony may be performed by him, but the position of householder (i.e. master of the rite) may be held by an Agastya alone.'[3]

### 3. *References in the Law-books*

Āpastamba says: 'One should not give one's daughter to a man of the same gotra.' Gautama says: 'Marriage is with persons of different pravaras.' Also: 'Intercourse with (the wife of) a friend, a uterine sister, a woman of the same gotra, a daughter-in-law, or a cow, are all equal to violating one's teacher's wife.' Baudhāyana says: 'He who goes to a woman of the same gotra must perform the *Cāndrāyaṇa*-penance.' Yama says: 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman, he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman, and the son of a man who has married a woman of the same gotra—these three are held to be Caṇḍālas.' Yājñavalkya says: 'One should marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not born in the same *ārṣa-gotra*.'

And since there could be no end of quoting the pronouncements of the ritual and legal literature on the subjects of gotra and pravara, we shall content ourselves with having quoted just so much as a sample merely, for fear of producing too heavy a book. This much, however, will make it clear that the meaning of the Teachers is that the obtaining of the fruit and the avoidance of untoward consequences from the performance of all sacrificial acts can be successful only inasmuch as they are based on knowledge of the facts of gotra and pravara.

### 4. *Marriage within the mother's gotra*

The question arises: is it the mother's gotra, or the father's, or both, that one must avoid in marriage? On this point, Manu has made a statement—Manu

[1] This does not occur at this point in the pravara-chapter, but is ĀpŚS 21. 2. 4–5 and 24. 1. 15.
[2] The bracketed words seem to be an unintelligent scholium (*yo vā kaścit*). This, and most of the following quotations, have already been given above, pp. 60–62; see there for references.
[3] I have been unable to trace this or the preceding quotation. For this sattra, cf. ŚŚS 13. 28. 6, and ĀŚS 12. 5. 16. Ed. here reads *śaktyā*, P2 *śāktyā*, for which *śāktyānām* is a necessary emendation. Ed. also gives *-ādhvaryava* for *-ādhvaryavaṃ*.





the all-wise, whose words have authority equal to Scripture (for the Scriptures themselves[1] have said that the word of Manu is medicine). Manu says:[2]

'The wife who is praised of the twice-born, in the matter of wifely duties and intercourse, is one who is not a sapiṇḍa of the mother's, and (neither a sapiṇḍa nor) a sagotra of the father's.'

Here, since on the mother's side marriage is prohibited with sapiṇḍas only, we may understand that marriage is permitted within the mother's gotra. Moreover, if marriage within the mother's gotra were not permitted, he would have said *asagotrā* in both places in the line. This he does not say, and therefore marriage can take place within the mother's gotra. This is the one view.

Other authors of Law-books have put forward the other view:

'He who marries his mother's brother's daughter, or a woman of his mother's gotra, or one of the same pravara as himself, should leave her, and perform the *Cāndrāyaṇa*-penance.'

This verse from another Law-book[3] is quoted and explained by the commentators on the Law-books. Some explain it as referring to the sons of a daughter appointed by her father as a son for descent purposes (*putrikāputra*): in such a case, there can be no marriage on either side of the family, since the son belongs to both gotras. This, however, is not an intelligent interpretation, since in the case of a *putrikāputra* marriage is already sufficiently limited by the rule 'not a sagotra of the father's', and therefore to prescribe specifically 'both paternal gotras' would be superfluous.[4] The objection is raised, that in the verse quoted, the prohibition of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is equally superfluous, since marriage is already barred in that case by the simple prohibition of marriage within the mother's gotra. The answer is: the specific mention of the mother's brother is intended to show that such a marriage is a more serious sin than marriage within the mother's gotra generally, because of the excessive closeness of the relationship, and therefore the fault of redundancy does not arise. Moreover, as we shall see below, ' a gotra is the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya'. These descendants must be reckoned both on the mother's and the father's sides, since both equally stand in the parental relationship. Hence the mother's gotra must also be included in the connotation of 'one's own gotra', and thus the correct view is that marriage is prohibited on both sides of the family. It is then objected, that if a son really belongs to both gotras, should he not then take the names of his pravara from both sides, in the same way as he does the prohibition of marriage, and as

[1] TS 2. 2. 10. 2.
[2] Mānava Dharma Śāstra 3. 5.
[3] It is noteworthy that Puruṣottama apparently does not know the provenance of the quotation. The usual attribution to Śātātapa by the writers of later legal digests would seem to be highly speculative.
[4] The argument is that in the case of a *putrikāputra* the mother stands in the legal position of the father, for purposes of descent, funeral oblations, etc.; and therefore the simple regulation barring marriage within the father's gotra is by itself wide enough to cover both the gotra of the actual father, and that of the mother as being the legal father.

in fact the *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa* families do? To this we reply: all the pravara-teachers cite in this connection, among all the gotras, only the gotras of the Śunga-Śaiśiris, etc., as *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, and prescribe for them alone pravara-names from both gotras, not for the others. For the others they give simply the pravara of the father's gotra. Hence, we are to understand that although a man belongs to two gotras, in the sense that he shares his mother's gotra as well, the pravaras have reference to the father's gotra only. Further, if the question of marriage within the mother's gotra is regarded as unsettled, since the *Manu-smṛti* and the other *smṛti* have equal authority, one should nevertheless avoid it, since (if the other *smṛti* should actually be correct) the sin and the expiation are heavy. And scholars of legal precepts (*nyāya*) say that one should avoid even a sin whose sinfulness depends only on the view of one party in an argument.[1] They say:

'Even if other people should be doubtful, men ought to forsake that which is not right.'

But it is objected, do not certain learned men act in this fashion? It is true, they do act thus; they even contract marriage with the daughter of their mother's brother, according to their own reading and interpretation of the two *smṛtis*. But after all, if we read the precept of the all-wise Manu, which indicates that marriage within the mother's gotra may be permissible, and also see such a marriage directly prohibited in another *smṛti*, and (in face of such evidence) are still in doubt because of mere customary usage—since this is the origin of delusion—how shall we ever dispel our doubt? Therefore in marriage the mother's gotra should be avoided equally with the father's.

[1] Thus, even if the 'other *smṛti*' is wrong, the 'safety first' attitude is to obey the stricter rule.





## Chapter XI

## THE MĀNAVA-PRAVARA

### A. *Baudhāyana*

Or 'Like Manu' for all the gotras. 'For the people are human (*mānavyo hi prajāḥ*)'—thus it is known.

### B. *Āpastamba*

Now, the Tāṇḍins conduct their worship with a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, common to all the *varṇas*, 'Mānava' for the Hotṛ, 'like Manu' for the Adhvaryu. 'For the people are human'—so says a Brāhmaṇa, so says a Brāhmaṇa.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

Since a Brāhmaṇa passage of the *Taittirīyas* explicitly reads: 'for the people are human.' By the word 'people' is meant those of the three higher *varṇas* who have birth, fitness (to sacrifice), wealth, and who are not excluded by the Law-books. The repetition is in order to show the end of the *adhyāya*, or else as an auspicious mark.

### C. *Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi*

But some say: In every case he chooses a one-*ṛṣi* pravara, 'Mānava', 'like Manu', for all the *varṇas*. For what reason? Because the people are human. But this is not legitimate: not by gods, not by men does he choose the *ārṣeya*, but by *ṛṣis* only. But this rule is applicable to people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas.[1]

*Puruṣottama comments:*

This sūtra has already been explained in the first chapter, dealing with general rules. So, too, in his chapter on the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, after giving the different pravaras according to varṇa, and faults as to pravara, Āpastamba says: 'Or else he does not choose an *ārṣeya*; (in which case) he should say simply "like Manu".'[2]

Now here, in the section dealing with the Mānava-pravara, the meaning of the Sūtra-authors appears difficult to understand, because of internal contradictions as well as inconsistency with each other. How so? Baudhāyana gives this pravara as being common to all the varṇas, and does not limit it as belonging to Vaiśyas only; while Kātyāyana, etc., condemn its use by all the varṇas in

[1] This is transferred from the Paribhāṣā-chapter, and does not of course belong to this part of the Sūtra text.

[2] ĀpŚS 2. 16. 12. Rudradatta's commentary makes this sūtra apply to Rājanyas only.

common, and give it as applying to Vaiśyas only. Āpastamba, again, after prescribing the separate pravaras in dealing with the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, gives it at the end as common to all the varṇas, and does not prohibit its use. Because of this inconsistency, learned men are confused, and hence it is difficult to ascertain the intention of the Sūtra-authors. Moreover, if the use of a pravara common to all the varṇas were conceded, the result would be utter destruction, entailed by the mixing of the varṇas which the possession of one common pravara (and hence the prohibition of intermarriage) would bring about.[1] This argument is refuted by those who know the meaning of the Sūtra authors thus: Āpastamba's dictum[2] is not intended to prohibit the pravaras of the several varṇas. What then is its intention? To praise the pravara common to all the varṇas, which he is about to mention. How? The pravaras according to varṇa are hard to know, and can only be acquired by much effort, and therefore they are not to be used; but this that he is about to mention can be learnt more easily, and is therefore to be employed—thus it is praised. If it is further asked how it is understood that this is the meaning, we reply that otherwise the result would be that the composition of the pravara-chapter would not have been undertaken; and it has been undertaken.

Again, the chief significance of Kātyāyana's prohibition of the one-*ṛṣi* pravara ('Mānava') does not lie in the prohibition itself. Where then does it lie? In prescribing this pravara 'common to all the varṇas' for Vaiśyas, by excluding the two higher varṇas, as is seen by the rest of the sentence, 'but this rule is applicable to people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas'. Moreover, as has been said, in the case of this common pravara, the question of marriage and so forth is not relevant, since there is no sameness of gotra involved.[3] On this point we would say further that the prohibition of marriage with people of the same pravara is to be explained in the case of this Vaiśya-pravara as a partial relaxation of the rule, since the Vaiśyas do not need to avoid this common pravara in marriage.

This one-*ṛṣi* pravara 'Mānava', then, is prescribed for Vaiśyas only.

[1] 'All' the varṇas, characteristically, means throughout the three higher varṇas, Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas. If there is no possibility of intermarriage anywhere among these three the only resource is marriage with Śūdras, etc., and hence a 'mixing of the varṇas' (*varṇa-saṃkara*).

[2] I.e. 'he does not choose an *ārṣeya*'.

[3] Read: *-pakṣe 'samānagotratvād.*





## Chapter XII

## CONCLUSION

*Baudhāyana says:*

He who goes to a woman of his own gotra should perform the *Cāndrāyaṇa*; and when he has fulfilled the vow, he should not forsake (her if she is) a Brahman woman (but should live with her), as if she were a mother or a sister; the offspring is not defiled, and is a Kaśyapa—thus is it known.

Now, in the case of coincidence (of a pravara-*ṛṣi*), a man should avoid marriage with those (families) mentioned in the same section (of the pravara-list as his own).[1] The authority of Baudhāyana is to be followed: for the people are human[2]—thus is it known.

Of the gotras, there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions; but their pravaras are forty-nine, as the *ṛṣi*-names in them show.

Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja and Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa—these are the Seven *Ṛṣis*;

A gotra is made up of the descendants of the Seven *Ṛṣis*, with Agastya as the eighth.

He who knows his own pravara and those of others does not lose the right to perform sacrifices.

The Veda is the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas, it is said. Therefore[3] the twice-born should make a great effort to know the pravaras.

Funeral rites, marriage, priests, hymns of praise, and the origin of gotras all stand firmly grounded in the 'Great-Pravara (-chapter)'.

He who constantly repeats the pravara-chapter every fortnight is magnified in the world of Brahma.

*Puruṣottama comments:*

*A woman of his own gotra.* One of his own pravara also is to be understood, since both are equally prohibited. The *Cāndrāyaṇa*-penance is meant, because of its virtue as a means of purification.[4] *He should not forsake a Brahman woman.* This prohibits the desertion which would (otherwise) be fitting as the result of being defiled by such a sin. 'Like a mother or a sister'—this is meant to show that the sin of sleeping together and of intercourse, and the consequent penances, are the same as in the case of approaching sexually a mother or a sister.

[1] Reading with Ed. *atha sannipāte vivāhaṃ tad-adhyāyair varjayet.* Caland, *a.s. vivāhas tadadhyāyaṃ varjayed.*

[2] The point of this is not at all clear.

[3] The logic of the word 'therefore' is not apparent.

[4] The word 'puṣkala' in this sense is otherwise reported only from the lexicographers.

'*The offspring is not defiled*'. I.e. in the case where the child was conceived in ignorance (of the identity of gotra), since we have the *smṛti*-rule which designates as a Caṇḍāla a child born from such a union knowingly entered into: 'The offspring of a celibate ascetic... etc., and the son of a sagotra-marriage are said to be Caṇḍālas.' *And is a Kaśyapa—thus is it known.* This means: the child which is born from a sagotra-marriage, even though of another gotra, becomes a Kaśyapa by gotra; thus it is heard in another *śākhā* of the Vedas.

On this scriptural authority, we are to understand that the offspring of a man belonging to one gotra becomes (in this case) a member of another gotra. *In the case of coincidence.... Thus is it known.* Since the bare fact that marriage is prevented by identity of pravara equally with identity of gotra has already been given, and the same thing need not be said again, the meaning he intends to convey by this sūtra is: since the gotra-gaṇas and pravaras are given section by section in the forty-nine sūtra-sections, beginning with the Vatsas and ending with the Yajñavāhas, a man who is distinguished as belonging to any one of the gotras of all the gotra-gaṇas of which there is coincidence,[1] i.e. being read together, in one and the same section, must avoid marriage with those in the same section—i.e. whose names are read in the same section: because of identity of pravara. *The view of Baudhāyana.* Here he refers back to what he has said earlier:[2] 'The Bhṛgus and Angirases make a separate marriage, but not if the majority of pravara-names should be the same—this is the view of Baudhāyana.' The prohibition of marriage in the case of the Kevala Bhṛgus and Angirases, being as they are outside the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis*, rests upon identity of pravara, since in their case the prohibition as to gotra merely would be pointless. The word 'Baudhāyana' is the purpose of the sentence; the view of Baudhāyana is to be taken as authoritative by all human beings. Why should this be?—because Baudhāyana is equal to Manu, and Manu's view must be accepted by all human beings (*mānavībhiḥ prajābhiḥ*). Why? He adds the reason: '*for the people are human* (*mānavyaḥ*)—thus is it known.' That is, it is heard in the *Taittirīya* Scriptures, in the Fire-piling Chapter:[3] '"Be propitious for offspring" he says; he thus soothes him for offspring. "For human (offspring)" he says: for the people (*or* offspring) are human. "Do not dry up sky and earth, nor the middle air, nor trees", he says: he thus soothes him for these worlds.'

*Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc.* Here he gives the number of the gotras, in order to show the difficulty of knowing them, being as they are like the stars, or the dust of the earth. Of what sort then is this number?—thousands. Because of the plural, we understand three or more thousands; more than this we do not know. Similarly with millions (*prayuta*) and tens of millions (*arbuda*) we understand three or more. Ten thousands make an *ayuta*, ten ayutas a *niyuta*, ten

[1] Puruṣottama's explanation differs in detail from the translation given above, but the resultant meaning is the same.

[2] Above, p. 66.

[3] TS 5. 1. 5. 6.





niyutas a *prayuta*, ten prayutas an *arbuda*.[1] There being then (at least) three thousands, prayutas and arbudas of gotras (since the plural is employed), there turn out to be three *koṭis* (thirty million) of gotras, if the three plurals employed amount to three of each. If more than three, then we do not know how many *koṭis* of gotras there are. The meaning is: when there are so many gotras, how is it possible to distinguish between them? (The answer, given by Puruṣottama in three and a half verses, is that there are only forty-nine pravaras; Kātyāyana, etc., it is true, give more; but the Teacher's word is equal in authority to the Vedas.)

We should mention here that all the pravara-teachers, after giving in order the names within each gaṇa, add the word *iti*, e.g. *ity ete vatsāḥ, ity ete ārṣṭiṣeṇāḥ, ity eteṣām avivāhaḥ*. 'These are Vatsas; these are Ārṣṭiṣeṇas; these have no intermarriage.' In these cases, since the word *iti* is a synonym of *ittham*, 'thus', and is an additional word, the meaning must be taken to be: 'These, *and so forth* are Vatsas; these, *and so forth*, are Ārṣṭiṣeṇas; these, *and so forth*, have no intermarriage'—otherwise the word *iti* would be superfluous. Baudhāyana, in the Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several separate gotras, fills out the number mentioned in his own verse by saying 'and the others whose names end in *-stamba* and *-stambha*'. Similarly, Āpastamba, in the same Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several gotras, and giving their pravara, fills out the number by adding: 'This pravara belongs to all whose names end in *-stamba*.' Similarly, Kātyāyana shows that some gotras have not been specifically mentioned, by saying 'and the others whose names end in that word'. Therefore, the Teacher, seeing that among the gotra-gaṇas already given, there are gotras to the number of three *koṭis* as given in his verse here, has shown the number of the gotras in the words: 'Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc.', with the intention of showing the difficulty of knowing them. *Forty-nine* (*pravaras*) *only*. This is to be explained with reference to his own text. *As the ṛṣi-names show.* This gives the reason in both cases. In the first case, it means the *ṛṣis* not previously mentioned, to such and such a number, seen in hymns, explanations, legends, Purāṇas, etc. In the second case, it means the pravaras are so many, as the *Teacher* has already shown. Thus it is well said, 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.'.

*Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc.* With this he defines what is meant by *gotra*, since identity of gotra cannot be established if the nature of gotra is not known. *The descendants of the seven* ṛṣis. Here the word 'descendants' means descendants in general. Thus: whoever is a descendant, i.e. in the direct line of descent, in branches and subsidiary branches of the family, from any one of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, and who also is himself a *ṛṣi*, is a *gotra* of that *ṛṣi*. For example, the gotras of Viśvāmitra are his descendants, Devarāta, etc., down to Kata.

[1] *arbuda* is usually said to mean a hundred millions. Here it is taken as ten millions, and so a synonym for *koṭi*, as also in VS xvii. 2 ff. Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. *daśan*.

The gotras of Jamadagni are his descendants Mārkaṇḍeya, etc. Similarly, Kṣāmyāyaṇa, etc., are the descendants of Bharadvāja. Others understand the definition of gotra in an inverted sense, as: Viśvāmitra is the gotra of Devarāta, etc.; the gotras of Mārkaṇḍeya, etc., are Jamadagni, etc. Thus, these eight *ṛṣis* (Agastya and the seven *ṛṣis*) are the *gotras* of all the others. This latter interpretation is favoured by the usage of people in general, who say, for example: 'We belong to the Viśvāmitra-gotra, to the Atri-gotra, to the Bharadvāja-gotra.' On the former interpretation, the usage would be: 'We are gotras of Viśvāmitra, we are gotras of Vasiṣṭha.' There is also an argument from Scripture: Gautama asked Satyakāma Jābāla 'Of what gotra are you, my friend (*or* of whose gotra)?' And the answer: 'I do not know sir, of whose gotra I am.' But on the former interpretation, the question would have been: 'Of whom are you the gotra?' And the answer: 'I do not know, sir, of whom I am the gotra.' Therefore, this definition is the correct one. So, too, there is the popular application: 'The sun is the gotra of brilliances, just as the river is of all seas.'

Here we say: This is the argument of a man who does not know the view of Baudhāyana. How so? He has already said in the verse given above: 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.', thus making the number of the gotras to be three *koṭis*; and turning to consider what these gotras are, if he said: 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc., that is, the eight, from Jamadagni to Agastya, are the gotras', there would be a contradiction, and a consequent inconsistency. But on our view no such difficulty arises. Neither popular usage nor the argument from Scripture is really an obstacle, since the word *gotra* has both genders, having (in the masculine) approximately the same meaning as *putra*, 'son'. Thus, we can say equally, 'Kuṇḍina is the son of Vasiṣṭha', or 'Kuṇḍina is the gotra (masculine) of Vasiṣṭha.'[1]

Pāṇini's definition of gotra:[2] 'A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards', must be taken to refer to the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya. That this is so may be seen from a comparison of the points in which it agrees with, and differs from, Baudhāyana's definition—in accordance with the maxim of the cow and the ox[3] it is proper to comprehend them (so to speak) under the same family. Otherwise, by the fault of illicit extension of the range of the definition's application, the descendants of a Caṇḍāla, etc., would turn out to be a gotra. But if the two definitions are taken together, no fault arises. Therefore, Baudhāyana's definition is to be accepted. Here the question is raised: does

[1] This is most improbable. The word *gotra* is regularly neuter, and Puruṣottama has probably conceived the idea of a masculine word from its use in adjectival compounds. Thus, he seems to derive the phrase here, *vasiṣṭhasya gotraḥ* from *vasiṣṭha-gotraḥ*. The latter, however, is not a Tatpuruṣa, but a Bahuvrīhi compound (as Puruṣottama, indeed, recognises below), meaning 'having Vasiṣṭha as one's gotra'.

[2] Pāṇ. 4. 1. 162.

[3] The two differ, it is true, but the similarities in essentials are such as to make it certain that they both belong to the same species.





Pāṇini's definition mean any descendant of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya? Or does it apply to *ṛṣis* only, i.e. a descendant of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, who is himself a *ṛṣi*, is a gotra? On the former supposition, the verse giving the number of the gotras, 'Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.', would run counter to it, since the number of all their descendants, past, present and future, *ṛṣis* and non-*ṛṣis*, is past all counting.[1] Everyday usage also contradicts it: for men do not speak of the descendants of Devadatta or Yajñadatta as the *gotras* of these two respectively. Nor do they consider that Yajñadatta's son or daughter is simply on that account of a different gotra from themselves, and contract marriage with them. But on the supposition that any descendant is meant in the definition, they would so speak, and contract marriages. Therefore, among all the throngs of descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, only those who are *ṛṣis* themselves, whether seers of hymns or not,[2] are to be understood as being gotras by the definition, since in this way, there is neither insufficient nor too great extension of the definition. This is also in accordance with popular usage, e.g. 'We are of the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra, of the Yājñavalkya-gotra, of the Śalankāyana-gotra, of the Āpastamba-gotra, of the Āśvalāyana-gotra, etc.'. The fact that it is a *bahuvrīhi*, and the masculine gender,[3] show that the compound *yājñavalkya-gotraḥ* is to be analysed as 'those of whom Yājñavalkya is the *gotra*', i.e. the founder of the family. Moreover (on the other view), phrases like '"All should be of the same gotra" is the view of Gāṇagāri, etc.'[4] would have no application. Thus it is well said: 'A gotra is the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya.'

On this point they say: to whom does this title of *ṛṣi* belong, what is the nature of a *ṛṣi*? To this we reply: a *ṛṣi* is one (among the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, who have received the forty sacraments, from the Garbhādhāna onwards, and are adorned with the eight good qualities of the spirit) who is famed among men by his continued perseverance in austerities. So, for example, the Scripture of the Vājins in the 'Secret Fire-lore':[5] 'In the beginning all this (world) was not-Being. As to this they say, "What was this not-Being?" The *ṛṣis* were that not-Being.[6] As to this they say, "Who are these *ṛṣis*?" The *ṛṣis* are the Breaths: because, before this universe was,[7] they, desiring it, moved (*ṛṣ*)[8]

[1] The verse, though clearly indicating merely a large number, is still taken here to imply that Baudhāyana knew the actual figure.

[2] See below, p. 208.

[3] Read: *puṃlingena nirdeśāc ca.* Puruṣottama here accepts the Bahuvrīhi compound in the case of gotras in the narrower sense, while above, where the seven *ṛṣis* and their descendants the *gotra-kāras* are in question, it is necessary for his argument to take it as a Tatpuruṣa, since, because of the definition of Baudhāyana, he cannot see that the expressions 'Vasiṣṭha-gotraḥ' and 'Devarāta-gotraḥ' are precisely parallel, the only difference being that in the former case the word *gotra* is applied to the super-family.

[4] ĀŚS 12. 10. 1, above, p. 76.

[5] ŚB 6. 1. 1. 1. From Puruṣottama's reference (*agnirahasye*) one would have expected bk. 10 to have been meant.

[6] Read: *te 'gre 'sad āsīt.*

[7] Reading *yat purāsmāt sarvasmād* with *BiblInd* edition; Ed. *yadāsmā sarvasmād*; S *yat pūrvasmā gagaham icchantaḥ.*

[8] Eggeling, 'exhausted themselves'.

with labour and penance, they are therefore *ṛṣis*.' Here the meaning is, they are *ṛṣis* because they achieved world-renown. Among *ṛṣis* thus defined, those who are famed in the world for their greatness are called *maharṣis*, great *ṛṣis*, as is seen from the expression: 'Of the great *ṛṣis*, I am Bhṛgu'.[1] Among *ṛṣis* thus defined, those who in one birth after another have sanctified their minds by the repetition and consequent knowledge and understanding of the meaning of the Vedas, and to whose minds therefore the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, repeated in a former existence, appear (of their own accord) in the direct line of the tradition—as it were a man awakened from sleep—these are called 'seers of hymns'. So, too, the passage in the *Svādhyāya-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīyas* which explains the Brahma-sacrifice:[2] 'Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards (*abhyānarṣat*, √*ṛṣ*.) the Speckled Goats (or Unborn Ones?) while they were performing austerities. They became *ṛṣis*. That is why *ṛṣis* have their name.' 'Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards them' means 'the eternal Veda was revealed to them'. We have already described above how their descendants recite their names in their pravaras, to the number of one, two, three, or five. Among seers of hymns thus defined, those who have knowledge of all things past, present and future, are known as Sages (*muni*)—compare the scriptural text: 'If a man were to become disgusted with folly and wisdom (equally), he would become a sage'; and the etymology *mananān muniḥ*—'muni from *man*, to think'; and also cases like 'Vālmīki, bull among sages'; 'Of the sages I am Vyāsa'.[3] Therefore, any descendant, from the son and grandson onwards, of one of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya, who is himself a *ṛṣi*, whether he is a seer of the Vedic hymns or not,[4] is held to be a *gotra* of that person, as, for example, Mārkaṇḍeya is of Jamadagni, or Devarāta of Viśvāmitra. Thus any descendant whatsoever of these eight *ṛṣis*, from the son and grandson onwards, provided he himself is a *ṛṣi*, must be considered as a *gotra* of that *ṛṣi*. The descendants of a *gotra-ṛṣi*, if they are *ṛṣis* also, are also gotras of that *ṛṣi*. Thus we say: the *ṛṣis* who are descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya are held to be gotras from both points of view, since, like the word 'son', the word 'gotra' expresses a relationship; so that the same term *gotra* is used both with reference to the *ṛṣis* who are the fathers, etc., and with reference to the *ṛṣis* who are the sons, etc. This being so, expressions like 'We are of the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra, etc.', 'All should be of the same gotra, etc.', 'Of whose gotra are you, friend?' are fittingly employed, having reference to the sons, etc. On the other hand, the definitions of Pāṇini and Baudhāyana have their proper application with reference to the fathers, etc. It is established, then, that the descendants of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya who are

[1] Used by Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā, 10. 25, to indicate his supremacy.
[2] *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*, 2. 9.
[3] *Bhag. Gītā*, loc. cit.
[4] The usual medieval definition of *ṛṣi* in connection with gotra is 'a seer of Vedic hymns'. Puruṣottama, by giving a different connotation to the word *ṛṣi* presumably intends to escape from the undoubted fact that numerous gotra-*ṛṣis* are not named in the Vedic Anukramaṇīs.





themselves called *ṛṣis* are the *gotras* both of their fathers, etc., and of their sons, etc.[1]

*He does not lose the right to perform sacrifices.* By means of this he shows that the knowledge of gotra and pravara destroys all sin. How so? The sin of sacrificing for an unfit person is understood from what Gautama says to be a sin even more serious than the great sins which cause loss of caste (*mahāpātaka*). Gautama, in giving the reasons for undertaking penances, says:[2] 'Sacrificing for an unfit person, speaking falsely, neglecting to do what is prescribed, and doing what is forbidden.' Now here, although the sacrificing for an unfit person would come under the heads of 'neglecting what is prescribed' and 'doing what is forbidden', yet Gautama, perceiving the seriousness of the sin, has not merely allotted it a separate place, but has given it first in the list. Baudhāyana's meaning here is that those who know the pravaras avoid this sin.

*The Veda is the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas.* That is to say, since the pravaras are included among the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas,[3] one should devote one's attention to the Pravara-books.

*Funeral rites, marriage, etc. stand firmly grounded in the Great-Pravara-(Chapter).* This praises the Great-Pravara-Chapter. So too, the verse:

'Since it is to be mastered by great effort, and since it is concerned with the great (*ṛṣis*); and since it offers great rewards (to the student), it is therefore called the Great-Pravara-Chapter.'

*Regularly, every fortnight.* With this he shows that the fruit accruing to the man who reads the pravara-chapters in uninterrupted study through all the phases of the moon (*parvan*), is the attainment of the world of Brahma. But, it is objected, there is no means of attaining the world of Brahma, apart from

[1] The whole of this extremely muddled discussion results from the fact that Puruṣottama is arguing with a term (gotra) insufficiently rigid in its connotation. It is therefore constantly being used in slightly different senses, and Puruṣottama seems to be only half aware of the fact. The chief difficulty results from the use of the word *gotra* to denote the founder of a family, where the fuller *gotra-kāra* would have made matters clearer. A further confusion is caused by the indiscriminate use of a name like Mārkaṇḍeya to denote both an individual of that name, and also the family named after him. This too Puruṣottama is quite unable to straighten out. Moreover, he is determined to stick to the letter of Baudhāyana's definition, and therefore can allow the title *gotra* only to *descendants* of the seven *ṛṣis* and Agastya—gotras of the second order, so to speak, such as Mārkaṇḍeya, etc.—and not to the eight *ṛṣis* themselves, who constitute the first order. In the case of gotras of the first order, he is thus forced to say, for example, that 'Mārkaṇḍeyo Jamadagni-gotraḥ' means 'M is a gotra of J', and is precluded from seeing the obvious meaning, 'The (subsidiary gotra of) M belongs to the (super-) gotra of J.' Puruṣottama's argument is, in brief: Mārkaṇḍeya is a descendant of Jamadagni; therefore, because of Baudhāyana's definition, he is a gotra of Jamadagni. Also, since M's descendants say 'We belong to the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra', Mārkaṇḍeya is the *gotra* of these men. Therefore, Mārkaṇḍeya is the gotra both of his ancestor, and of his descendants. Much trouble would have been avoided if he could have analysed the application of his terms more precisely.

Puruṣottama next goes on to repeat the same discussion in verses, which, as they add nothing fresh, I have omitted here.
[2] GautDhS 19. 2.
[3] Presumably, since the Pravara-ceremony is dealt with in the Brāhmaṇas; but in spite of the comment, Baudhāyana's meaning remains obscure.

knowledge of Brahma, as is seen from the scriptural passage: 'There is no other path to be found.' Say not so: there is, for example, the 'Knowledge of the five fires'; and the method of 'Works alone'. As Gautama says: 'He who has the forty sacraments and the eight good qualities of the spirit, attains union with Brahma.'[1] Or else, since the pravaras are a constituent part of the regular (*nitya*) sacrifices, and since the regular sacrifices are a cause of salvation, therefore, by means of the pravaras is salvation achieved. There is no flaw in this explanation. Or else, through knowing how to recite (the names) of Vasiṣṭha, etc., who knew Brahma, and who resemble Brahma, and by this means building up a store of merit, which has as its fruit the knowledge of Brahma, a man may attain the world of Brahma. No fault can be found in any of these explanations.

[1] GautDhS 8. 24–25. Gautama's text, however, says that the eight good qualities without the sacraments may bring a man to union with Brahma, but not the sacraments without the qualities. This would be more apposite here.





[Finally, Puruṣottama quotes the concluding portion of 'Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi'. The text of this also is in a bad condition, and the version given by Ed. is completely incomprehensible in places. Mān. and W both give the same passage; and because of the importance of the subject-matter, I have thought it worth while to give an emended text of the Sanskrit. Unfortunately, the elliptical style gives rise to several ambiguities, and it is to be regretted that there is no commentary available to assist in the interpretation.]

The pravaras have been explained. We shall now explain the modifications (arising in cases of adoption). Now, the origins of the Brahmans are twofold: (they are) either of a united family, or of two families. We shall explain how they originate, and to what (families) they revert. Those whose progeniture is unbroken in the male line of descent are 'men of connected family'. Those (among such) who, for more than seven generations back, or (at least) five, are (descended from ancestors who were) endowed with good birth, knowledge, virtue and good conduct, and are learned, are known as men who have notable fathers and grandfathers, *ṛṣis* and sons of *ṛṣis*; they are fit to be priests.

Now, those who, whether as given in adoption, bought, or adopted by the will of the adopter, or sons of a daughter designated to take the (legal) place of a son, and who, through their adoption by another, are entitled to name pravara-*ṛṣis* in different families, are 'men of two families'—as for example in the case of the Śaunga-Śaiśiris, the Bharadvāja-Audameghas, the Laugākṣis; and any other families which have arisen in like manner should make their pravara-recitation similarly: where the two pravaras are used together, the first pravara should be that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter. Or else (some say), three names should be recited from each. This he should not do (because of the text), 'He does not choose more than five'. Therefore, he should recite only three or five (names).

Those who are born of a male relative on the father's side who has the same pravara (as the legal father) are 'men of united family' and belong to the adopter[1] alone. If in such cases they (i.e. the adopter and the physical father) have no offspring by their own wives, they (the adopted sons) are to take the inheritance, and offer the funeral cake for them up to the third generation. If they do have offspring, the ruling of the Teacher is that they shall still make the funeral offering for both families (although they do not inherit). Such a person should either make two *Śrāddha*-offerings, or else, at the one *Śrāddha*, should designate them separately, and for the one cake should name two ancestors (in the line of) both the adopter and the physical father, up to the third generation.

Where the pravara is not known, he (i.e. the priest) recites the first of the pravaras given here (that is, the pravara of the Vatsas); or, in case of dispute, he should recite whichever pravara he may think appropriate in any particular instance.

A Rājanya uses either the pravara of his purohita, or that of his teacher. The

[1] The case in question is that of *niyoga*, or the levirate (though *niyoga* can take place before the death of the husband). The real father being the relative called upon to take the husband's place, the mother's husband is considered, legally, as the adoptive father. The male relative is of course of the same grota as the latter.





vyākhyātāḥ pravarāḥ, vaikṛtāni vyākhyāsyāmo; 'tho dvitayyo brāhmaṇānāṃ samutpattayo bhavanti: saṃhatakulīnāś ca dvyāmuṣyāyaṇakulīnāś ca; teṣāṃ samutpattiṃ pratipattiṃ ca vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. yeṣāṃ puruṣataḥ prajotpattir avicchinnā bhavati te saṃhatakulīnāḥ. ye sapta bhūyaḥ pañcapuruṣaṃ vā yoni-śruti-śīla-vṛtta-saṃpannāḥ śrutavantas te pitṛmantaḥ paitṛmatyā ṛṣaya ārṣeyās ta ārtvijīnā bhavanti.

atha dattaka-krītaka-kṛtrima-putrikāputrāḥ paraparigraheṇa nānārṣeyā jātās te dvyāmuṣyāyaṇā bhavanti, yathaitac chaunga-śaiśirīṇām bharadvājauda-meghīnāṃ laugākṣīṇāṃ, yāni cānyāny evaṃ samutpattīni kulāni bhavanti; teṣāṃ tathaiva pravarāḥ syuḥ: dvipravarasaṃnipāte pūrvaḥ pravara utpādayitur uttaraḥ parigrahītuḥ. api vā trayo'nye trayo'nye. tan na tathā kuryāt: na pañcāti-pravṛṇīta iti; tasmāt trīn eva pañca vā pravṛṇīyāt.

atha yadi pitṛvyeṇa jñātinaikārṣeyeṇa jātās te saṃhatakulīnāḥ, parigrahītur eva bhavanti. atha yadi tesāṃ svāsu bhāryāsv apatyaṃ na syād rikthaṃ hareyuḥ piṇḍaṃ caibhyas tripuruṣaṃ dadyuḥ. yady api syād ubhābhyām eva dadyur ity ācāryavacanam. dve kuryād ekasmin śrāddhe vā pṛthag uddiśyaikapiṇḍe dvāv anukīrtayet, parigrahītāraṃ cotpādayitāraṃ cātṛtīyāt puruṣāt.

ārṣeyājñānād eteṣām eva pravarāṇām ādyaṃ pravaraṃ pravṛṇīte, pratipraśnena vā yaṃ yasyopapannaṃ manyeta taṃ tasya kuryāt.

purohitapravaro vā syād ācāryapravaro vā rājanyaḥ. etenaiva vaiśyasya

For *vaikṛtāni*, Ed., P samutpattīḥ pratipattīś ca. — *dvitayyo*, so Mān., W, P2; P1 dvitiyo; Ed. trividhā.—*saṃhata° dvyā° ca*, Mān., W omits; Ed. gives in addition utpattikulīnāḥ, thus justifying trividhā; P1 sannahatakulīnāś; P2 sannahatuḥ k°. — *teṣāṃ s.p. ca vyā°*, so W; Mān. omits pratipattiṃ; Ed., P omit entirely (having misplaced the phrase above). — W puruṣātaḥ. — W vichinnā. — *saṃhata-*; but Mān. saṃhita, cf. ĀpŚS 13. 6. 13 with Rudradatta's commentary; W saṃgata-; P 'tyanta-; Ed. utpatti-; — for *yoni*, W yāni; Mān. potni. — For *śrutavantaḥ*, P śrutimantas; Mān. atavātāṃ ṛtavantas; after this word Ed., P1 omits *te*. — for *pitṛmantaḥ paitṛmatyā*, Ed. has pitṛmātṛsantatyā. — *ṛṣaya*, Mān. omits. — before *ārtvijīnā*, Ed., P1 insert saṃhatakulīnā; P2 omits ārṣeyās te. — W bhavanty ārtvijānām; Mān. bh. ārtijīnāṃ.

W -putrikāḥ (omits -putra). — *nānārṣeyā*, Mān. (which adds ye); P2 -grahe nānā-; Ed. -graheṇānārṣeyā; P1 graha nānā-. W -graheṇa nānārseyeṇa. — After *bhavanti*, W adds: dvyāmuṣyāyaṇāḥ kākakokilās tasmād (d)vipitara(ḥ) smṛtās tasmād vibhāva-bharadvājā brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-viśas tathā, etc. (the last word for yathā). In this place in Mān. occur the dislocated lists from the Agastis. — Mān. odvamedhīnāṃ. — Mān. alone preserves the old form laukā-kṣīṇāṃ. — W yāni cānyathaivaṃ. — W samutpannāni; Mān. samutpattiṃni. — *kulāni*, Ed. omits. — *api vā*, so W, Ed.; P1 api ca vā; P2 api cā; Mān. api ca. — *tan na*; Mān., nanna; Ed., missing the sense entirely, tatra.

*na pañcā-... iti.* Mān., W omit.—*tasmāt*, Mān., W; Ed., P1 hy āha; P2 svāha.—*(pra)vṛṇīyāt*, Ed., P. (P gives the verb with both numerals); Mān., W (pra)vṛṇīte; W adds dvayor eva trīn nātivṛṇīte. W adds 'tha yadi sārṣṭim prabrūyād; there is not, as Weber suggests, a lacuna, but merely a displacement. —*jñātinā-*, W kṣātinā naikārṣeyeṇa; Mān. jñātinā vārṣeyaṇa ye. — *te saṃhata-*, Ed.; P1 te sahaṃta-; P2 te saṃtata-; Mān. saṃhita- (omits *te*); W teṣāṃ only. — *apatyaṃ na syād*, P, Mān., W; Ed. syāt [na syāt]: the meaning of these brackets is nowhere explained by Ed., and we are left to guess which is the manuscript reading and which the 'emendation'. — For *rikthaṃ*, Mān. ritchūṃ (?). — *piṇḍaṃ caibhyas*, Mān., caisāṃ; W piñca-cebhyas. — *yady api syād*, so W; Mān. yadi syād; P yadi na syād; Ed. yadi na syāt [ubhayor na syāt]. — After *dve*, W inserts śrāddhe. — *ekasmin śrāddhe*, so P; Mān., W ekaśrāddhe; Ed. dve dve. — *uddiśya*, so P; W anudiśya; Mān. anudviśya; Ed. pṛthag anu[gu]ddiśya. — Ed. pari-gṛhītāraṃ. — Mān. vāttṛtīyāt; W ca tṛtīyāt.

*ārṣeyājñānād*; Ed., P1 ārṣeyajñānād; P2 āṛṣeṣājñānād; Mān. ārṣeyasyāparijñānād; W ātreyaḥ syāt jñānam. — After *eteṣām* W inserts ekeṣām. — *pratipraśnena*, W -śnana; Mān. paripraśnena. — *manyeta*, so Ed., P1, W (the last, however, na manyeta); Mān. manyate. — Mān., P1 tat taśya; Ed. tasya only. — Before purohitapravaro, Ed., P insert tathā; for the first *vā*, P2 na; Mān. purohitapravareṇa pravaro syād ācāryaprāvaro (*sic*) rājanya etenaiva tu pravareṇa vaiśya-pravaro, etc.; for *ācāryapravaro*, Ed. ekārṣeyapravaro (omits *vā*).

pravara of a Vaiśya is explained similarly. If (a Rājanya) makes the pravara-recitation according to his rank, the Hotṛ should say 'Mānava, Aiḍa, Paurūravasa', the Adhvaryu, 'like Purūravas, Iḍā, Manu'. If they share in a funeral repast for a common ancestor, they should not intermarry. The correct view, however, is known from a scriptural text 'Rājanyas and Vaiśyas have only their purohita's pravara'.

He who studies the Family(-names) rejoices in heaven for a thousand celestial years. The man in whose house a student of the Family(-names) eats, becomes a guest of each of the *ṛṣis* for a thousand celestial years. He should not recite them to another, unless it be to his son,[1] or to a pupil who has studied with him for at least a year. He who studies the pravara-chapter rises above all those whose presence sanctifies a society.

[1] Literally, 'not to another, not to a non-son, not to a non-pupil,' etc.





pravaro vyākhyātaḥ. yadi sārṣṭim pravṛṇīte mānavaiḍa paurūravaseti hotā brūyāt purūravovad iḍāvan manuvad ity adhvaryuḥ. yadi pitryam aśnīyur na vivaheyuḥ. purohitapravarāv eva rājanyavaiśyau syātām iti ha vijñāyate.

divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ svarge modate vaṃśādhyāyī yasyaivāśnāti vaṃśādhyāyī gṛhe divyaṃ varṣasahasram ekaikasyarṣer atithir bhavati. nānyasmai varaṇaṃ dadyān nāputrāya nāśiṣyāya nāsaṃvatsaroṣitāya. sarveṣāṃ pāṅktipāvanānām upariṣṭād bhavati yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhīte yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhīte.

— *sārṣṭim*; Ed. sārṣaṃ; P 1 sasarṣiṃ; P 2 sarṣi; W rāṣṭri; Mān. sārṣṭyaṃ. — *pravṛṇīte*, Mān.; W prabrūyān; Ed., P brūyān. — brūyāt; Mān., W omit. — *aiḍa*, P 2; P 1, Ed., W aila; Mān. aiḷa. — *iḍāvan*, restored; MSS. ila-, iḍa-. — *pitryam*, P, W; Ed. pitrīyam. — *vivaheyuḥ*, Ed., P; W vivāhayeyuḥ; in place of this sentence and the next, Mān. has sārṣṇyaṃ pravṛṇīyu pravarād eva rājanyavaiśyau syātām; dhanaṃ yaśasyam āyuṣyaṃ ṛṣīṇāṃ kīrtanaṃ śubham. — Mān. omits the words *divyam...gṛhe*; for *divyam*, W divi; *svarge*, W omits; both times, W vaṃśyādhyāyī; for *yasyaivāśnāti*, W yasya cāśnāsi; in place of *gṛhe*, W sa. — Mān. ekaikasya aṣer (*sic*) ātithyaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavati, yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhīte maithuna-gotrālābhe ruṣyantarāṇāṃm (*sic*) avirodhir ity eṣamahā (*sic*) śakuniḥ samāptaḥ; vedānāṃ mūlaṃ dharmasya cāgraṃ rudraiḥ samadhikaṃ vṛddhaṃ vṛddhair nāputrāya nāśiṣyāya nāsaṃvatsaroṣitāya dadyāt. — *nānyasmai varaṇaṃ*, so W; Ed. nānyavaraṇe; P 1 nānyavarṇo; P 2 nānyavaraṇo. — *pāṅktipāvanānām* Ed., P; W paṅktiyāvānām; Mān. pañtipavanām. — Instead of simply repeating the last three words, P 1 only has: yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhīte; sa ciraṃjīvī bhavati puṇyavān bhavati yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhīte.

# INDEX

[This index does not include forms which appeared so hopelessly corrupt as to be useless; but a number of borderline cases have been retained, where the form, though probably corrupt, might be of some interest. The inclusion of a name here is thus in no sense a guarantee of its authenticity, but is intended merely to lead the reader to the page or pages where he can consider for himself the evidence in each case. To obtain the full information, both simplex and vṛddhi forms of a name should be consulted.

Names of major gotras and gaṇas, and pravara-names which do not occur in this index can be readily found in the tables on pp. 31–7.]